

The Leader.

"THE one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—HUMBOLDT'S Cosmos.

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News of the Week.

PARLIAMENT is to be dissolved by the Queen on Friday next, and so closes the session of 1851—the most useless, paltry, insincere, and irksome within memory. We are spared any "retrospect of the session"—no one desires to look again at anything so dreary. It is a view into the back yard of an ill-kept house when the family is leaving it—full of the broken furniture of domestic bankruptcy exposed in the shamelessness of ruin.

The House of Commons has this week settled the Salomons question—by refusing to hear counsel at the bar of the House. So ends that affair for the season. The House has resolved to keep out the Jew; not that it really wished to keep him out: intending to admit the Jew, as such, it would not admit him unless he said words as if he were a Christian. The Honourable House cannot make up its mind without Ministers; and they were cowed by the Lords. Or rather, there is not a party in either House that cares to make up its mind at all.

The Lords have passed the Ecclesiastical Titles Assumption Bill, with excellent speeches against it by Lord Aberdeen, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Gage, and other peers; but no alteration was made. The Lords would not do anything that might give the opportunity for the Commons to revise the measure. That was the reason we suppose why Lord Montagu, who otherwise behaved as if he were very ardently opposed to the bill, withdrew his last amendment, which was very good in itself, and was faintly opposed by Ministers. Its object was to prevent the bill from operating collaterally against the action of the Roman Catholic dignitaries in their ordinary functions. In the debate on this amendment, Lord Lansdowne said that if the Pope had abstained from the one mistake of giving to his bishops in this country territorial titles, the whole measure would have been needless: why, then, is the measure not limited to that single point? According to the Law officers of the Crown, it is already illegal for the Bishops of an alien Church to bear territorial titles in this country; a single clause, therefore, declaring that law, would have sufficed for all that Lord Lansdowne deems necessary. Thus does the President of the Council stultify the agitation instigated by the Prime Minister.

While the Bill is rapidly advancing to the Royal assent, the governors of the Catholic Church in this country are proceeding with the organization of their hierarchy. Two Bishops have been consecrated at Salford, two more at the new Cathedral in St. George's Fields. It is natural that the Catholics should not yield, and they show no sign of so doing. Already the most lively interest is felt in their public ceremonies; the filling of their Churches has been contrasted with that of many buildings belonging to the Established Church; and although something of this

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interest must be ascribed to the preparation of the ground by Puseyism, to the progress of conversion, with the sort of half conversion that consists in a sympathizing curiosity, and to the living zeal which more thoroughly penetrates the elder branch of the Church, much also is due to the striking political position in which the hostile Government has placed the Catholic hierarchy. Some doubts and dislikes may have hung about the lower clergy, and even a portion of the laity; but assuredly they will have disappeared in the face of a common enemy, the Whig Ministry, whose conduct must have incited antagonism by its bad feeling, and at the same time have invited a hopeful pertinacity by its vacillation and weakness. The full power of the superior position thus left open to the Catholic hierarchy will be first perceived when the bill being brought into practical operation, aggressive measures actually commence, and the prelates become de facto the leaders of their faith, in resisting active assault.

If the English Catholics are not disposed to yield, neither do the Irish seem so; they have received Lord Arundel and Surrey on his arrival at Limerick to stand for that borough as a leader; they kissed his hands, he having knelt to receive the blessing of the Bishop: they boasted that the cause of England and of Ireland was for the first time the same. Ministers procured the rejection of Lord Montagu's amendment to exempt Ireland; and they almost hinted that the Bill would not be enforced in Ireland: we are much mistaken both in the earnestness and in the sagacity of the Irish, Catholics as well as Protestants, if they permit that law to remain unenforced.

Among the minor discredits of the week, Ministers have endured a severe rebuke from their late Poor-law Secretary, Lord Ebrington, for the miserable delays with which they trim between the prosecution and abandonment of Sanitary Reform.

Is the Thames purified? Is London supplied with water? Is our system of interments reformed? Government has just asked for the money to buy the Brompton and Nunhead Cemeteries; but meanwhile a private company, the National Cemetery Company, has shot far ahead of that preliminary stage.

One of the last favours to the Agricultural interest whose distress was noticed in the opening speech, and remains unabated as well as unrelieved, was the refusal to repeal or abate the Hop-duties. Perhaps a better mode of relief might be found; but unquestionably it will not be found by Ministers. Meanwhile, the Agriculturists are founding societies for their own relief, as at Suffolk; and they are beginning to discuss questions like that of tenant-right, which, once opened, are not likely to stop at the point from which they start.

The great principle of concert makes too much progress to be much longer excluded from the agricultural mind. In the controversial discussion of the *Daily News* we see how even among oppo-

nents it is becoming the subject of active discussion. Mr. William Coningham's lecture, delivered to a very numerous and very attentive public audience at Brighton, must have conveyed the main idea with striking practical illustrations to a number of intellects which it had not reached before; but the very assembling of such an audience to be informed on the subject is a proof of the manner in which information on this great key to the solution of the labour question is sought. The appearance of the Central Cooperative Agency amongst our ordinary commercial advertisements is another sign of the progress with which this principle is encroaching upon every department of society. It is in fact establishing a footing of a practical kind amongst active politicians, who are beginning to find they can no longer delay inquiry; amongst economists, who are beginning to recognise it as an addition to their own science; among the practical operations of working industry, and now in the business-like department of trade.

Interest in French politics has considerably subsided since the debate on the revision wound up, and the supplemental vote of censure on the manoeuvres of the Bonapartists in the petition movement was carried. The resignation of the Ministers was only a matter of form. Louis Napoleon seems to have understood that the vote was one against Imperialism more than against the Ministry. And now the resolution of the Assembly to prorogue on the 10th of August until the 4th of November completely kills all remaining interest in the proceedings of that body.

Meanwhile Paris is going to fête the Royal Commissioners of the Crystal Palace to-day, and during next week. M. Guizot, from his retirement at Val Richer, strikes another blow at Democracy; and arrogates at the same moment to himself the title of Democrat. There is a movement among the Legitimists, who appear to be forming an hypocritical alliance with the Elysée, in order to exclude the Prince de Joinville or any Democratic candidate for the Presidency. This is only following out the policy which Montebert was denounced for initiating four months ago in the Rue des Pyramides.

Apprehensive of the coming winter and its attendant troubles, apprehensive that the workmen of Paris may be not very well employed, and knowing that starvation is not the best friend of reactionary Government, the French Ministry have devised certain improvements of Paris on a grand scale, which upon their own showing are intended to meet the difficulty of short time and low or no wages. The plan is this:—

"The city of Paris proposes to enlarge the central markets, and to prolong the Rue de Rivoli to the Hôtel de Ville; the first calling for an outlay of 37,000,000*fr.*, and the second, one of 21,000,000*fr.*, in purchase of land," &c.

And the funds to carry out this object are to be raised by a loan secured upon certain tolls levied

by the city of Paris upon wines and spirits. Now it is obvious that, by this course, not only will the workman have to help in paying the loan fund which supplies his wages; but that the kind of work is not precisely that which will best suit the goldsmiths, jewellers, silkweavers, and manufacturers of Parisian nicknacks, who always feel most severely the rigours of winter. It happens, also, that the continuance of the system of livrets, which obliges a workman to get a ticket from his employer and present it before he can be employed, will prevent the workmen of the provinces, who would otherwise come up in great numbers, from sharing in the new source of employment. Hence exasperation in the provinces and in Paris.

Dr. Vandoni is assassinated in Milan, and as a matter of course the assassin is said by the police to belong to the party of Mazzini. That, however, is a small matter of every-day occurrence. Mazzini is the incubus of the police; so everything is ascribed to him which they cannot account for. But Radetzky has seized the occasion as a pretext for issuing one of his ferocious proclamations. In all this there are un concealed signs of fear and alarm on the part of the Austrians. The severities can but advance the day of just retribution.

News from Germany resolves itself into this, that—politically quiet, and physically improving, the nation is biding her time. The contest in Prussia is sharp and tough between the land-owning party, the squirearchy of Prussia, and the middle classes. In Hesse Cassel, constitutional liberty dies out under the heel of Hassenpflug, with the gleam of German bayonets hired to do the work of the despots, glaring in her eyes. At Frankfort, the old and owlish Diet works in the dark, screened from the gaze of mortals; doing its best to keep clear of the Press, which it has gagged. Rumour runs that, at the suggestion of Nicholas, the Diet will intervene in the affairs of certain towns where gambling is carried on, and restore "order" by suppressing that vice; the reason alleged being, that so many Russian Princes have lost great fortunes at play, and it hurts the feelings of the paternal Czar.

PARLIAMENT OF THE WEEK.

Jewish claims again occupied the attention of the House on Monday night. The cases of both the Jew members who were excluded were brought forward, and finally the resolution affirming their exclusion was carried.

Proceedings were commenced by the SPEAKER, who read a letter from Mr. Salomons, intimating that two actions at law had been commenced against him, and that he had been advised to inform the House, as any resolution it might adopt could be used against him as evidence. The order of the day was read, and Sir BENJAMIN HALL moved that the electors of Greenwich be heard at the bar of the House, in support of their right and privilege to elect Mr. Salomons. Mr. ANSTET seconded the motion. The novelty of the debate was the determination and even anxiety of ministerial members to cut short their speeches. The motion was opposed by the Attorney General, Sir Frederick Thesiger, Mr. Newdigate, Sir John Hanmer, Sir Robert Inglis, and Lord John Russell, all of whom cut down their remarks to the lowest standard; and supported by Mr. Anstet, Mr. Villiers, Mr. Aglionby, Mr. Alderman Millicy, and Mr. McGregor. The greatest impatience was made manifest for a division, when the motion was rejected by 135 to 75.

The electors of Greenwich being disposed of, Mr. RAIKES CURRIE brought the London petition under consideration, and spoke with the evident intention of shelving the whole thing until next session; but he was met by Mr. ANSTET, who contended that the electors of London had a right to be heard at the bar, and who moved a resolution to that effect. Mr. AGLIONBY seconded the motion. There was no attempt made to discuss the question. The rest of the debate was an exchange of vapid personalities—the only vigorous sentence being Mr. Raikes Currie's sketch of Mr. Anstet at the London meeting. Mr. CURRIE said:—

"He went there after many nights in that House—he had the vote of the honourable and learned member (Mr. Anstet) still ringing in his ears—the announcement with which they were all so familiar, 'Mr. Anstet left speaking' (laughter) was yet visible in his mind's eye, and lo! even as he took the chair the honourable and learned member stood beside him in all his pristine vigour, with the well-known pocket-handkerchief—(laughter)—in one hand, and with an amended petition in the other. (Renewed laughter.) What an apparition for the chairman of a public meeting!"

Mr. Anstet's motion was negatived by 77 to 41.

The adjourned debate was then resumed on Lord John Russell's resolution, by Mr. ANSTET, who proposed to add to that resolution words pledging the House to use its undoubted privilege so to alter the oath as that it might be taken by Mr. Salomons. Two

lawyers supported the proposition, Mr. Headlam and Mr. J. Evans, and then the House rejected the amendment by 88 to 50.

Mr. BETHELL reargued the case from beginning to end, pointing out how unwise it would be for the House to get into a contest with the great constituencies, showing that the House would be besieged by Jew members, who would be elected to test the question; that in the case of Horne Tooke the undefined state of the law was held sufficient to authorize that gentleman to sit, vote, and speak throughout the session; and winding up with an appeal to Lord John Russell to leave the matter undetermined until an interpretation of the law could be obtained. Lord JOHN RUSSELL replied that his own mind was made up, but that he had no objection to the opinion of a court of law being taken. It would still be competent for the House to decide for itself. But in the present state of the matter he certainly thought that they ought not to delay their decision reaffirming the resolution of last session, that David Salomons, Esq., was not entitled to sit or vote in the House until he should have taken the oath of abjuration in the form appointed by law.

The House then divided, and the numbers were—

For the resolution, 123; against it, 68.

Majority against, 55.

After disposing of some other business, the House adjourned at twenty minutes past two o'clock.

At the evening sitting on Tuesday, Mr. HENWOOD moved:—

"That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, praying that her Majesty will be graciously pleased to direct, in such manner as to her may seem fit, that the Crystal Palace be preserved until the 1st of May next, with a view to determine if that novel structure, or any portion of it, can be adapted to purposes of public utility and recreation."

He asked that it might be preserved, partly for pleasure and partly for scientific purposes. A portion might be set apart for a ride. The department of natural history might be transferred to the Crystal Palace from the British Museum. Besides, it might be described as the nearest approach to a ladies' club ever constructed, as, under certain regulations, a lady might walk about there with as much security as in her own drawing-room.

The motion was opposed by Colonel Sibthorp.

Mr. LABOUCHERE followed, and, as a member of the Government and a Commissioner, said he was bound to see that the structure was taken down in accordance with the contract; and he threw on the House the responsibility of setting that contract aside. Sir ROBERT INGLIS agreed in the eulogies bestowed on the Crystal Palace; but he did not agree in the course adopted by Ministers, of shirking the responsibility of maintaining it; and he contended that the contract could only be set aside by an Act of the Legislature. Mr. EWART, Mr. MCGREGOR, who had built a house near the Park for retirement, but who readily sacrificed his private to the public convenience, and Colonel THOMPSON supported the motion.

Mr. GOULBURN opposed the motion. He would not consent to the violation of the contract; but if retained, to what purpose should the building be applied to?

"If, as some suggested, it were to be used as a place of recreation for the benefit of Belgravia, or as the scene where ladies' clubs should assemble—(laughter)—what would be the consequence? Would not the people of Tyburnia demand a similar portion of the Park to be appropriated for their recreation also? The immense annual expense, also, which the permanent maintenance of the building would impose on the country was deserving of consideration. They must have an extensive number of keepers, whether the building were used as a garden of plants, as a museum, as a ladies' club, or as a new Tattersall's."

Mr. WAKLEY held that the contract was a contract of the public with the public. If it was determined to destroy the Crystal Palace, he believed that the labouring-men of London would resolve unanimously not to lay their hands upon it. Mr. BANKES started a new idea. Keep the palace, said he, but remove it to a less aristocratic locality—Finsbury, for example. Lord SEYMOUR very decidedly opposed the motion; but having failed to make an impression on the House, the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER enforced the same views of opposition, intimating also that these would be "expensive;" but, unlike Lord Seymour, he declared that his intention was not to vote. The motion was supported by Mr. Villiers, Mr. Clay, Mr. Headlam, and Mr. Geach. On a division, there were—

For the motion, 75; against it, 47.

Majority, 28.

The House met on Wednesday, and was mainly occupied in discussing the clauses of the Church Building Act Amendment Bill. Some important alterations were made; the first clause, which empowers the Church Commissioners to allot certain sittings to the poor of the parish, was struck out. A clause proposed by Mr. FKEWEN, enacting that in any benefice, having a population of forty persons and upwards, and no church, the funds should accumulate until they were sufficient to build a church or chapel;

and providing that if the archbishop or bishop of the diocese thought proper to license any room for the purpose of public worship, it should be lawful for the patron to present to the benefice. This clause was carried by 40 to 37, and afterwards, at the earnest solicitation of Government, withdrawn. The preamble was agreed to, and the House resumed.

At the morning sitting of the House on Thursday, in reply to Mr. Osborne, who intimated that there had been some misunderstanding upon this point,

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER repeated, in fuller and more explicit terms than he had used on Tuesday, his statement respecting the Crystal Palace. Whether the Commissioners were at liberty, under the terms of the memorandum, to apply any portion of the surplus in their hands to the purposes of a winter-garden he thought very doubtful; whether, if they had the power, they had the inclination, he could not say. If they were unable or unwilling, the public could only purchase the building for a sum which might probably amount to £70,000. Then to put it in a fit state for permanent preservation would cost a considerable sum, and there must be an annual outlay for keeping it in repair. So much for the building. In addition to this expenditure, there must be a certain outlay for the winter garden itself, and then there was the cost of maintaining it. These five charges must fall upon the public.

During the remainder of the sitting, the Metropolitan Sewers Bill was read a third time; and the Metropolitan Interment Bill passed through committee: a division by way of protest, on the part of Sir Benjamin Hall, was taken on reporting the bill, and carried by 42 to 7.

In the evening a debate took place on the second reading of the Episcopal and Capitular Estates Management (No. 2) Bill. This bill had come down from the House of Lords on Wednesday, and excited considerable discussion. Colonel SIBTHORP moved that it be read a second time three months hence. It was explained by the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER that the bill was permissive only, providing for the possibility of getting rid of the objectionable system of renewals of fuable leases subject to the check of the Ecclesiastical Estate Commission. Various speakers started objections to the details of the bill; and then urged its postponement until next session. Upon this the SOLICITOR-GENERAL observed that the objections went to the clauses of the bill, not to its principle, which was this—the lessees had now no power of enfranchisement from any body except the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in respect to property vested in them. By this bill they might be enfranchised; but there was nothing in it to prevent the renewal of leases, if this were desired; all the bill did was to enable the parties, lessor and lessee, if they saw fit, to put the management of the property upon a new footing.

Finally, all parties were reconciled by the intervention of Lord PALMERSTON, who suggested that the bill should be read a second time, in order that it might be committed, and go to the country with any amendments adopted in the committee.

Upon a division, the amendment was negatived by 45 against 34, and the bill was read a second time.

In the House of Lords, on Monday, the compensation clauses in the Smithfield Market Removal Bill were on the motion of Lord GRANVILLE, struck out, after some debate, by a majority of 59 to 15.

At length the Ecclesiastical Titles Assumption Bill has been read a third time and passed. This notable event took place on Tuesday. The last debate was tame, and there was no division. The opposition was reduced to the privilege of a protest, and all attempts, save one, to amend the bill given up.

Lord ABERDEEN could not refrain from uttering his last protest against the "ill-omened measure," and expressing his conviction of its "radical injustice." Though noble lords opposite supported the bill, not one had regarded it with unmixed satisfaction. He stigmatized the passage of the bill as an "irrational and impolitic" act; and he vindicated the right of discussing the merits of the bill—a right which had been impliedly objected to by the assertion that resistance to the bill would foster disobedience in Ireland. He criticized some points in the bill, and declared that he anticipated from greater evils than he could "contemplate without feelings of the deepest horror." He should avail himself of his privilege of recording his protest against the measure, on the journals of the House.

The Bishop of OXFORD (who had been obliged to give way to the Lord Chancellor, in the debate on the second reading) delivered a long oration, the gist of which was that England was a Christian country; that the rescript was an aggression, since it assumed that England was unchristian, and therefore the bill was necessary to repress that aggression. He was opposed to penal legislation; nothing would induce him to assent to the measure, if he were persuaded that it would interfere with the exercise of the religious duties of the Catholics. The Bishop was at some trouble to prove how the rescript had "abolished" the ancient sees; and how conveniently

everything was arranged for the Papal court, if a Roman Catholic revolution were to take place; "which," exclaimed the prelate, "may God avert!"

"If," he continued, "to-morrow a pro-Roman Catholic revolution should take place, the Bishop of Rome would find all the ancient sees of England swept away—he would have no need to try the existing bishops for heresy—his new bishops would be in full power, and his work would be done to his hands. Thus the Bishop of Rome has interfered with our institutions, and particularly with those religious institutions which England has established for the instruction of her people. It was on these grounds that he supported the bill—first, because the Bishop of Rome had endeavoured to remove us from the category of Christian people; and secondly, because he had been assailing the Church of England by attempting to abolish, and, as far as his rescript went, actually abolishing, its separate bishoprics. Such aggressions he held that, as a nation, we were bound to repel."

He employed the old argument, that every reasonable and necessary purpose was answered by the vicars-apostolic, and that the Papal Court had a sinister motive in appointing bishops:—

"It was his belief that they were appointed by the Bishop of Rome, because he thought that that branch would be widened if there were established a regular Roman Catholic Episcopate among us—it was his belief that they were only sent here to increase the number of perversions which had taken place among our weaker brethren."

He was opposed to a concordat, but he approved of what he called "regulations," that is to say, a concordat in another form. He would prefer that an agreement should subsist between the Pope and the Government, by which all Papal documents should be submitted to them, with the right of a veto. Finally, he discussed amendments which were rejected, and modes of proceeding which were not followed. And he trusted that the measure would be enforced, as "penal laws not enforced were simply an insult" upon those against whom they were directed.

The Duke of ARGYLL denied that the value of the bill consisted in the extent to which it was to be enforced. He made a smart remark in reply to the Bishop of Oxford's excessive laudation of the Church of England:—

"The Right Reverend Prelate often spoke about the Church of England being the bulwark of Protestantism. He admitted that she had been so; but for himself he would only say that he did not think this was the time to be singing psalms upon the state of that establishment which was the only Church, so far as he knew, that was giving forth, day by day, and week by week, converts to the Roman Catholic faith."

The rest of the debate was sustained by Lord STUART DE DECIES, Earl NELSON, the Marquis of SLIGO, and Lord GAGE, in opposition to the bill; and by Lord FORTESCUE, the Earl of GLENAGLE, Lord REDERDALE, and Earl GREY, in favour: the last-named peer thought proper to defend his consistency of opinion against some allegations made by the Duke of Newcastle.

When the bill had been read a third time, Lord MONTAGUE moved an amendment, protecting Roman Catholic ecclesiastics from the operation of the act, providing they simply assumed the title of Roman Catholic bishop in such or such a district. Lord LANSDOWNE objected to the amendment, and it was withdrawn upon his statement that it would be superfluous, as the amendment was already embodied in the Charitable Bequests Act, and recognized by law. After some further conversation the bill passed.

The House met on Wednesday pro forma, to get through some of the remaining work of the session.

A variety of business was transacted in the House of Lords on Thursday, but no bill of any general interest was discussed. The Charitable Trusts Bill was finally passed, and the Court of Chancery and Judicial Committee Bill read a second time. Lord MONTAGUE attacked the Board of Health for delay in carrying out the act of last session respecting intramural interments, especially referring to the disgraceful state of the graveyard of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster. Lord SHAFTESBURY defended the Board of Health and the act of Parliament, citing as the cause of the delay the alterations made by the Government in the original bill, which had prevented the Board from negotiating certain loans necessary for carrying out the provisions of the act.

METROPOLITAN SEWERS BILL.—Mr. WAKLEY complained, at the morning sitting on Tuesday, of the lateness of the session for proceeding with this bill. He severely criticized the Commissioners of Sewers, found great fault with the business they performed and the mode of performing it, and declared that the "sewers they constructed were a great nuisance, but the commissioners themselves an infinitely greater." He moved that the bill be committed that day three months. Mr. WILLIAMS seconded the motion. The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER opposed, and Mr. OSBORNE and Lord DUDLEY STUART supported the motion. Lord EBRINGTON replied to the "calumnies and misrepresentations" industriously circulated against the commission. He declared that they had effected much, in spite of very great difficulties; that they paid much more attention to the business of the commission than prescribed by law; that they worked at less cost than their predecessors,

and that they had indeed done great things. At the same time he appealed to Lord John Russell to say whether he would fairly support sanitary reform or give it up. Since Lord Carlisle left the Woods and Forests, the commission had met with no co-operation from that department. Sir BENJAMIN HALL and Mr. HENLEY pointed out, in opposition to Lord Ebrington, that the commission was "inefficient and incompetent," and much more costly than its predecessor. Lord JOHN RUSSELL was puzzled to give a decision between such flat contradictions. He thought Lord Ebrington had some advantage. As to the bill, all seemed to agree upon the desirability of keeping up the commission for a year longer; and he certainly thought that a paid commission, as proposed, would facilitate business. The House went into committee, where there was great opposition, and three divisions upon the details of the bill, and one for reporting progress. Ultimately the bill went through committee with some amendments—one depriving the commission of the power of levying a rate higher than 3d. in the pound.

THE CASE OF MRS. HICKS.—Lord SEYMOUR entered into explanations, in reply to Mr. Osborne, as to the case of Ann Hicks. He treated the matter in a very cavalier manner. He denied that Mrs. Hicks held any house by the gift of George II., or any other royal personage at all. He represented her as having persecuted the Commissioners of Woods into granting her a house in the Park. From a "cow stand," wherein "to look her ginger-beer bottles," she had gradually obtained, since 1813, concession after concession, until her wooden bottle-house became, in 1850, a brick cottage, with a space hurled off round it, and a fireplace inside. Having obtained this, her encroachments became intolerable. She was for some time continually engaged in a contest with the "Park authorities." The hurdles of her inclosure were "continually advancing." When requested to put them back, she "made so much noise and abuse about it, that none of the Park authorities would meddle with her." However, Lord Seymour came into office, and resolved to rout the foe. He consulted with the Duke of Wellington, who recommended that legal advice should be taken, and that Mrs. Hicks should be ejected from the Park. Legal advice was taken, and a notice to quit was served on Mrs. Hicks, Lord Seymour offering "that if she would go from the Park, and not give them any trouble, he would take care that some allowance should be made her. But she would not go; she said it was her ground, and that nothing could remove her." Lord Seymour then enforced an ejectment. "As to any other cottage being erected in the Park, the only one he was aware of was the cottage proposed to be built by Prince Albert as a model cottage. When it was built he (Lord Seymour) said it could not be allowed to remain, and his Royal Highness said it should be taken down next November."

HOP DUTIES.—Mr. FREWEN moved, on Tuesday, "That the excise duty on hops is impolitic and unjust, and ought to be repealed at an early period. Mr. HODGES moved, as an amendment, the reduction of the duty by 1d. the pound weight, and the abolition of the additional 5 per cent. After a very short discussion, in which Mr. CORBEN supported the motion, the amendment was withdrawn; and the House, dividing on the original motion, rejected it by 59 to 30.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

The news from France may be almost said to be limited to the single fact of the prorogation of the Assembly, which is fixed for the 10th of August, and will continue to the 4th of November. There are, however, some points of collateral interest. M. Guizot writing from the Val Richer, in reply to M. Emile Dehaes, who has written a book on Democracy, claims for himself the title of Democrat, and claims to be enrolled among its best, nay, most necessary friends. We quote the concluding words:—

"I conclude, Sir. I might say much more on your work; but I only desired to notice what, in my opinion, is the fundamental error of its leading idea. 'No one,' you say, 'believes, no one declares Democracy unjust; some believe and many declare it to be dangerous.' Permit me, Sir; I will, without believing myself to be too rash, proceed to that extreme which, according to you, no one wishes to hazard. Pure Democracy, which is what you support, is not merely dangerous, it is essentially unjust; for it suppresses and oppresses the natural and necessary elements of man and of society; and it is because it is unjust that it is dangerous. It is as dangerous for itself as for society; for the parer—that is, the more exclusive—it is, the more rapidly it progresses towards anarchy or tyranny. You attempt to withdraw democracy from that danger by anathematizing demagoguery. 'Demagoguery,' you say, 'is to democracy what chaos is to order—its absolute opposite.' It is true that chaos is the opposite of order, and no one has ever said that order was on the brink of chaos. Far from democracy—and above all, pure democracy—being the opposite of demagoguery, it is the very slope which leads to it, and common sense and experience prove clearly the fact. So long as our country remains on this dangerous slope, do not flatter yourself, sir, with the hopes which fill your book as they do your soul. You will no more have the Republic than you will have the Monarchy. You will only have the Revolution."

Another point in the news is, that there is a decided tendency on the part of the Legitimists to make a compact with the Elysée, and so carry out the policy indicated by Montalambert, in his famous maxim, "Il n'y a que le possible qui soit légitime;" thus supporting the reflection of Louis Napoleon, for the purpose of keeping the question open between the Monarchy and the Republic; though how that is to bring about the restoration of M. de Chamboud is a mystery only clear to ultra-montane eyes.

Italian news brings evidence of the alarm felt by the military occupants of Lombardy, and, indeed, the terrorists of nearly all Italy—the Austrians. The assassination of Vandoni in the streets of Milan has afforded Radetzky a pretext for publishing a proclamation to the Lombardo-Venetians from his head quarters at Monza on the 19th, of which the following is the preamble:—

"The result of the recent judicial investigations and several facts which have occurred recently have convinced me that the parties whose sole object is the overthrow of social order, not content with the misfortunes they have already occasioned, have again secretly planned a scheme for trampling under foot all respect for religion and the laws, and for endangering the lives and properties of all honourable and peaceable citizens, and for preventing all return of confidence in the Government. As I am responsible to my august Sovereign for the maintenance of tranquillity and good order in this country, I regard it as a sacred duty to God and my conscience to defend your lives and properties from the unworthy attacks of a party hateful in the sight of God, who hesitate before no means—not even assassination—to accomplish their criminal object."

And he then commands the inhabitants to assist him in apprehending these enemies of order, and if they will not, he declares his determination to inflict on them the "entire weight of his severity," and we know what that means. In the mean time we find the French troops, for want of quarters, ejecting the officials of the Holy office in a summary way, and taking post therein. Throughout the Peninsula a Government not authorized, not seen, not seizable, opposes itself to the Governments of terror and usurpation. It is, in fact, the legitimate Government of conspiracy by the people.

The Hungarian and Polish refugees, who on the faith of an Austrian amnesty returned from Turkey to Hungary and Galicia, have all been either imprisoned or compelled to enter the ranks of the Austrian troops now in Germany. Eighteen of those Poles who towards the end of June were brought under escort from Temesvar, where they had arrived in consequence of the above-mentioned amnesty, to Lombard, have been sent as private soldiers to join the regiments stationed in the vicinity of Hamburg; which is a proof by-the-by that Austria intends to permanently occupy the surrounding territory of that free town, and eventually to take possession of the town itself.

Russia too is likewise busy in increasing the ranks of her army. The Autocrat has just issued a ukase, which ordains, from the 1st of September to the 1st of November, A.C., a new levy of recruits. The levy is to be five out of one hundred in the eastern Governments (provinces) those of Orloff, Kaluga, and Tula excepted, which will only furnish one out of one hundred.

BERLIN CORRESPONDENCE.

Berlin, July 23, 1851.

One of the bas-reliefs on the monument erected here a few weeks ago to Frederic II., represents the great King sitting upon the historical water-pipe of Kolin; downcast, in lonely, momentary despair, he contemplates a thistle growing at his feet, and is unconscious of the geni and ministers of Heaven that hover in the air above him, emblematic of ultimate victory and success. Might one not, in a hopeful mood, regard this picture as emblematic also of Dame Germania herself, her humour and her position just now? Very desolate, this spiritual personage sits grieving, with lamentations not loud but deep, over the Kolin of disappointed hopes; of glorious dreams dissolved into thin air, or gone to rough inglorious realities; of ambitious plans ending in humiliation; of just demands answered by mere brutal stupidity. There she sits, dolefully contemplating the thistle at her feet, a spectacle to the nation.

But when the worthy dame has completed the days of her mourning, and when the chastening—which is not "joyous, but grievous," and which no doubt she must have deserved, else she would not have got it,—has yielded her the "peaceable fruit of righteousness," then will she once more look around and be rejoiced to find, that all the time she was absorbed in contemplation of the ugly thistle, her children have been working stoutly in her fields and vineyards, and have prepared a new and better victory. For, to exchange metaphor for actuality, if one leaves the newspapers and printed controversies, and takes, as your correspondent has lately done, to the railway, the steam-boat, and the walking-stick, things take a wonderfully altered character; and one finds to one's infinite relief, that though politics have not prospered, Constitutionalism be under a cloud, and the Heaven-defying Prometheus of the Paul's Church be chained down for a time by the blind moles that are once more busy underground in the Eichenheimer Gasse at Frankfurt; that for all this, the sun shines joyously on a growing, increasing, and prosperous country. Everywhere will the traveller meet with signs, not of dying or depression, but of growth and enterprise; enlarged cities, ornamental buildings, busy roads, tall chimneys, new industries; not to speak of the well cultivated broad lands, wood-clad hills, and rich landscapes which the Almighty has set there once

for all. In the Saxon Voigtland the traveller will observe the rich foliage pleasantly interspersed with new red chimneys that rise on all sides above limes and beeches; red-tiled clanking mills and factories, not without ambitious architecture, skirt the outskirts of towns, and account for the shining white villas that look with a coquettish air from the adjoining hills; and young ladies in railway-carriages complain of the increasing smokiness of their towns. Leipzig has surrounded itself with a belt of palaces. A net of railways, with comfortable second and even third class carriages, and cheap travelling made use of by bands of rural labourers, and caravans of chattering market-women, traverse the country in all directions; and even in the dreary sandy plain, which stretches with leaden dullness from Leipzig onwards to this northern city of the desert, the barren sand has not only been made to grow corn, green crops, forest trees; but also industrious establishments, cloth-making towns, red-brick creations have arisen, hives of human activity. And so we have arrived at Berlin.

But, alas! here our eyes involuntarily meet "the thorn at our feet." Not that this great and remarkable city did not show its share of activity, of prosperity; quite the contrary; perhaps none more so. But we have come here to head quarters, to one of the chief head quarters of the national body; and here we naturally inquire, What does the head devise? how does the head guide and concentrate the uses of such vast, wide-scattered limbs? And the answer we receive and see is, That the seat of the great Elector, of the great King, is filled by Frederic William IV., an amiable, accomplished Prince, as everybody says, exemplary in all private relations of life; a patron of religion, of literature, of the arts and sciences; a man of wit, of learning, of imagination, of many talents; only, it is always added, it is a pity that he should have to be King in these times! Yes, it is a pity; the more so as here in Prussia the word and will of a King is still all-powerful; that he commands by his will, or by his whim, an army of soldiers, an army of administrators, bureaucrats, and a whole people with an instinctive respect for royal authority.

There is no denying that the unhappy part the Prussian Government has played in these eventful years is in great part owing to the personal character of the King. And, moreover, by some strange destiny, all his faults, mistakes, and perversities arise out of what might, wisely applied, be fruitful virtues. Thus he is possessed by a strong conviction of the greatness of his kingly office, of his responsibility to God, of his own direct duty to care for and rule his people; but the mode in which this estimable feeling operates is through a cloudy belief in Grace-of-God Kingship; so that it is no rare occurrence when he has heard the deliberate advice of the assembled council on important matters, for him to say to them:—"Yes, gentlemen, that is your honest opinion, I have no doubt, come to by the best of your judgment; but we Kings receive our inspirations differently, and from a higher source, and I have resolved thus—;" and so Ministers have to act thus against the best of their judgment; for it must be said, again, though it may not easily be understood in England, that the King here is still all-powerful, and he regards his Minister as his superior clerk.

Again, the King is religious, a very good quality in any man or King; but, strange to say, this most Protestant potentate, the very basis of whose house, crown, history, and people rests on Protestantism, is full of Roman Catholic tendencies and appetites; a hater of private judgment, a believer in spiritual authority, in traditions, forms, symbols; and, if not a Catholic, then a first-rate Puseyite, as indeed his spirit-mad double and bosom friend Radowitz, himself a pious and obedient child of the Roman Church, has, in his "political and religious conversations," expressed great hopes of the ultimate outcomings that lie as yet hidden in English Puseyism. The King is religious; wishes to make his people so; and the way he sets about it is, to get his police to enforce a "bitter observance of the Sunday." So, as the papers relate, a poor weaver who, with the produce of a small field, ekes out his weaving existence, is clutched at and fined by the zealous police for working a little in that field of his on a Sunday. And here in Berlin your unfortunate correspondent had last Sunday to forego his daily post-prandial cup of coffee and "frangipani" at Kranzler's—because of a "20 dollars fine for allowing such a thing during Divine service" (afternoon service). But—and this also is characteristic of things Governmental here—the police having, as usual, been over-officious, out-stepped their duty, have received counter instructions, and have since been to various shops and places to whisper in a private, official manner, that it was a mistake, that if they would only lean their doors to, that would be enough, they need not shut them. Many are the stories told by wicked Berliners of officious policemen bound upon this religious service. One "constable" passing a barber's shop with door open on a Sunday morning, stepped on the threshold and began blustering on the greatness of the offence, when lo! his official eyes fell upon the lathered face of a superior "constable" undergoing the criminal operation of being shaved "during Divine

service"! Whereupon the inferior "constable" withdrew, hiding his diminished head before the lathered one.

Frederic William is not without sympathies for great ideas. The unity of Germany, with Prussia at the head, such as friend Radowitz had drawn it up beautifully on paper, would have been greatly to his liking if it could have been accomplished by "tremendous cheers," and without offence to Austria. For this also is a curious and somewhat perverse feature in a Hohenzollern—a feeling of pious reverence towards the Imperial house of Austria, the historical head of Germany. "Sire," said a learned professor, and respected friend of ours once to the King, "if this pious reverence (Pietät) towards Austria is so intense, why not return Silesia to her?"

This singular King, now, with his perverse virtues and various sympathies, is beset and alternately influenced by two parties, who, though both "reactionary," hate each other cordially, the Bureaucrats and the Younkres. For as to the other two parties in the State (who, however, had never any influence at Court), the Democrats have withdrawn, biding their time, and the Constitutionalists are under a cloud of ill-success. The Bureaucrats, then the officials, or as you would say the Red-tapist party, are headed by the prime minister, Manteuffel; and the Younkres, or Squires, have Gerlach, Bismark, Schönhagen, and others of the aristocratic kindred for leaders; Professors Stahl and Leo for prophets (Radowitz is a liberalizing sectarian from that school); and the *Kreuz-zeitung* (edited by Dr. Wagener, an Irvingian "angel") for gospel. This latter is in many respects a very remarkable journal. Able, zealous, full of pluck, ever ready with a wherefore for a why; mostly, too, basing its argument upon premises which few wise men will gainsay; holding up authority against revolutionism; natural historical growth, and development against paper constitutions, Government by law and through the superior men—superior by birth, by substance, by influence and standing in the community, against redtapist absolutism on one side, and mere numerical majority on the other. But the special, practical conclusion arrived at does not always answer to the abstract, general principle started from. Moreover, the party, the squires, allow the high argument of their able organ—and look mainly to the power, the loaves and fishes, which it is to argue into their hands. Thus Coleridge provided English parsons with a transcendental philosophy which, though not understood or cared for, was accepted, because honours and preferments with a philosophy are things to be thankful for. Squirarchical dominion, founded upon an "historical school of politics," as taught by Swiss Haller, expounded by feudal Gerlach, by learned Stahls and Leos, with profitable places and exemption from taxes for one's estates, is highly acceptable to reactionary Younkres, "ready to die for their King."

A case which is now agitating the country will illustrate my meaning. Previous to '48 Prussia had "Provincial Estates," composed of nobles and large landed proprietors (Rittergutsbesitzer, possessors of knights' estates, who need not, however, be nobles themselves), who represented themselves, had what is termed viril-votes, and delegates from town and country. These "Estates" (that is, Stände, social classes, as contradistinguished from the modern system of representation of numbers) consulted and advised, but had not the power to legislate, on such matters as the Central Government chose to lay before them. With the introduction of the constitution these "Estates" vanished; the laws regarding them were by one article of the constitution expressly repealed.

The last Assembly voted a property and income tax; and since '48 there has also been named a law which makes "Knights' Estates" (Rittergüter), subject to the land-tax, from which a great number of these had been hitherto exempt (originally because the knights to whom these lands belonged paid their taxes to the state by personal service, as soldiers, &c.). These laws are to be executed, to be put in a train of action. The question is, by what machinery? Out comes a Ministerial ordinance, resuscitating the Provincial Estates, as the fit machinery to get these laws into working condition, followed, as was natural, by horror and indignation on the part of Constitutionalists. It is illegal, unconstitutional; you have no power to do it; Representative Assemblies and Provincial Estates cannot exist together. You have solemnly sworn to the constitution; you cannot revive the Estates in that way, &c. &c. Noble, constitutional Vinke—and other constitutional nobles, with viril-votes at those same Estates, remonstrate themselves against it, will not come, though called—come only to protest, and then withdraw indignantly; nay, two high functionaries, prefects or presidents of provinces, on whom devolved the duty to call these Estates, remonstrate also. The Government, meanwhile, startled by such grave opposition, tries to sooth the storm. "Don't be alarmed, gentlemen," says the Ministerial organ; there is no harm meant; it is only provisionally—just for this one little service, to introduce and organize these laws. "Provisionally?"

thunders the *Kreuz-zeitung*, which pretends to higher authority than either Ministers or their organ, "no such thing! You Ministers, dull bureaucrats, don't know your own minds. The Provincial Estates are the ancient historical institution; though in abeyance, they exist; no power in the State, not the King himself, ever had the right to abolish them. Your sworn constitution is a creature of the revolution, a child of sin; what right to respect or authority has it? Let the Estates meet, and they shall decide what next. They are our historically grown tree, with its roots stretched deep and wide in our soil." Amen! say the squires; let us have the Estates again. True, when we had them, we cared not for them—clamoured ourselves for a constitution in their stead; but they are historical, and we have a decided majority in them; can manage thereby to lay the new taxes as heavily as we like on the towns, and as lightly as possible on our estates; and altogether take the sting out of that democratic financial measure.

This is my illustrative case; which, seeing my letter has already grown to such unreasonable length, I must leave thus abruptly in your hands, merely adding, as a piece of news and historical fact, that the above-mentioned remonstrating two high functionaries have been superseded and replaced by men of the *Kreuz-zeitung*; and also, as a piece of court gossip, the on dit that one of the said high functionaries, the Count Auerswald, President of the Rhenish provinces, was set a remonstrating by her Royal Highness the Princess of Prussia, who also resides on the Rhine, being on terms of cordial hatred with the court here, and said to be a high-spirited lady, of Liberal politics, and patroness of Constitutionalists.

But the above historical fact, independent of the gossip, being interpreted, signifies, that for the present the Younker party are in the ascendant, and carry it even over Ministers. For the present, for there is no telling whether to-morrow, or next week, friend Radowitz, or liberal Humboldt, or some other liberal person of genius who has the King's ear (for the King has sympathies with all genius, even with Democratic Bettina), may not turn the tide in another direction, and cause "counter-instructions" to go forth to the effect "that doors need not be shut; leaning to would be sufficient."—J. N.

MR. CONINGHAM'S LECTURE AT BRIGHTON.

GENTLEMEN,—Although differing widely, perhaps, upon other questions of social or political economy, we meet here this evening on the common ground of cooperative association. Before proceeding with my lecture, and to prevent any misconception, I will first endeavour to define some few of the terms which I shall use.

Permit me, in the first place, to point out the difference between Association and Communism, terms which are often strangely confounded with each other, but have, in fact, a meaning perfectly distinct, with little or nothing in common. The Communists exclude the principle of individual property, or severality, as it is called; and assume that every one has an equal right to an equal share of the common stock. Communism being, in fact, the principle of equality enforced by a more or less absolute authority.

Coöperative Association, or concert in the division of labour, on the other hand, is in no way incompatible or hostile to individual liberty and the right of possession. It serves to adjust the proportional division of profits between capital, labour, and talent, and between the employers and the employed, in a more equitable manner than under the existing system of industrial organization; where the many who do the work have no interest in the enterprise, except to fulfil their contract and to earn their wages: the price of their labour being adjusted by hostile competition—one side demanding as much, and the other paying as little as possible.

The difference between Association and Communism may be illustrated thus:—If three persons were each to subscribe one, two, or three hundred pounds—in three unequal proportions—making a total of £600, on the Communistic principle, the profits must still be divided in equal portions between them; while, on the principle of association, their respective shares would be—one-sixth for the first, two-sixths for the second, and three-sixths for the third. In short, the difference between association and communism, is the difference between the practicable and the impracticable—between voluntary coöperation and involuntary communism.

There is another term about which the most extraordinary misapprehension prevails. I allude to the term Socialism. The adjective "social," in Johnson's dictionary (the substantive was probably unknown to the worthy doctor), is defined "as relating to the general or public interest; relating to society." Thus Socialism, properly speaking, is the study of the public interest, or the science of social economy; and in this sense, Turgot, Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Robert Peel, and Stuart Mill, are all Socialists. Now that Socialism has become a party watchword, of vague and most uncertain meaning, it may be desirable to avoid misapprehension on the subject.

Coöperation is of two kinds:—first, simple coöperation, which takes place when several persons combine to help each other in the same employment; and, secondly, complex coöperation, when several persons help each other in different employments. The advantage of simple coöperation has been happily illustrated by the case of two greyhounds running together, which will kill more hares than four greyhounds running separately; and so in a number of occupations, the produce of labour is, to a certain extent, in proportion to such mutual assistance among workmen. Thus simple coöperation is the first step in social improvement.

Complex coöperation is that which takes place when one body of men having combined their labour to raise more food than they require, another body combine theirs also for the purpose of producing more clothes, and with the surplus clothes buying the surplus food of the other body of labourers; and thus, by means of exchange, both bodies obtain the capital necessary for setting more labourers to work in their respective occupations. Increase of capital, though it tends to diminish profits, produces at the same time increased competition for labour; and capital is as necessary to labour as labour is to capital—one of the objects of Association being to capitalize labour for the benefit of the labourer, and thus secure for him a share of profits now monopolized by the capitalist.

The problem is to obtain the efficiency and economy of production on a large scale without dividing the producers into two parties with hostile interest—the employers and the employed.

An increasing power of coöperation has long been considered one of the surest tests of the progress of civilization. We are told that the condition of the savages of New Holland, who never help each other even in the most simple operations, is hardly superior to that of the wild animals; and we may expect as mankind improves, that joint enterprises of many kinds, which are now considered impracticable, will be successively brought into operation, thus indefinitely augmenting the powers of man.

The business of manufacturing playing cards is a remarkable example of the important results which may be obtained by concert in the division of labour. Each card—that is, a piece of pasteboard of the size of the hand—before it is ready for sale, undergoes no fewer than seventy operations. In a card manufactory, where thirty workmen were employed, they have been known to produce daily 15,500 cards, being above 500 cards for each workman. It may be assumed that if each of these workmen were obliged to perform all the operations himself, he would not, perhaps, complete two cards in a day; and thus the thirty workmen, instead of 15,500 cards, would only be able to produce sixty.

Thus much on the advantages to be derived from a judicious coöperation and division of labour, which no one perhaps in the present day will be prepared to deny; but the particular form of it, which we have now to consider, has in this country, at least, a very limited number of supporters and many violent opponents. It has been, however, a common practice to remunerate those in whom some peculiar trust was reposed by means of a per centage on profits. This principle has been applied with great success to the sailors in the American ships trading to China; and to the Cornish miners, where "each man," it is said, "seems to feel as a partner in his little firm, and meets his employer on equal terms." The payment of the crews of whaling ships is made on similar principles; and the profits arising from fishing with nets on the south coast of England are thus divided—one half the produce belongs to the owner of the boat and net, and the other half is divided in equal portions between the persons using it, who are also bound to assist in repairing the net.

At Sables d'Olonne, on the coast of Poitou, in France, the owner of a fishing-boat mans her himself with two other fishermen and a cabin boy, or "mousse," and the boat, when on shore, is intrusted to the care of a woman, there called a "garçonne," who is bound to keep the boat clean, inside and out. The "take" of fish is divided into six parts—the boat, or capital, absorbs two shares, and the owner takes another share as a worker; the two other fishermen each take one share; and the last is equally divided between the "mousse" and the "garçonne." This is the joint-stock principle of coöperation between capital and labour: the next step would be for the working fishermen to purchase shares in the boat out of their savings, or wages, and then would be formed a perfect working-man's coöperative association. M. Leclaire, a master painter in Paris, adopted some years ago a plan by which his workmen shared in the profits of his business, in the ratio of their annual wages or salary. An experiment of a similar kind was tried on the Paris and Orleans Railway, and is now said to be in full operation on the Northern Line—which shall carry us at once to Paris.

On the 24th of last April I started for the capital of France, determined to ascertain for myself, if possible, the social and political condition of the French people under the military government of M. Bonaparte, about which such conflicting reports were in circulation.

As the principle of coöperative labour had always appeared to me an eminently practicable one, it was not without surprise, tempered however by distrust, that I read in the columns of the daily press accounts of the successive downfall of the Paris Associations, with the secret memoirs of the last of the coöperative cooks. If my surprise were great, it was marvellously increased when, on my arrival in Paris, I discovered that, like Mr. Landor's conversations of other celebrated personages, the memoirs were purely imaginary, and that, far from the cooks being on their last legs, and the fraternal fires extinguished, coöperative broils of the most peaceful character still saluted the nostrils of the weary pedestrian, with a social and savoury odour quite peculiar to themselves. In short I found that there were in Paris upwards of forty associations of cooks—danger even of that proverbial multitude reputed to be so fatal to the proper concoction of broth. I moreover discovered that the much-abused fraternal association of tailors, first established in the old debtors' prison of the Rue de Clichy, by M. L. Blanc himself, far from being defunct, had realised a fund of 70,000*fr.*, and opened a range of large, well-lighted, and well-ventilated shops and workrooms in the Faubourg St. Denis, and instead of being at the mercy of either sweaters or middlemen, their business skilfully managed by functionaries elected by the associates from among their own members—their original statutes greatly modified however, and the system of piecework adopted—indeed so far from the coöperative principle being extinct, I found it rapidly spreading through the provinces, and the most skilful and intelligent of the workmen actively engaged in forming associations, and doing so with a sincerity of purpose and devotion to the cause which is beyond praise, and with that self-denial without which all fraternal coöperation is impossible. The practical success of the self-organized coöperative associations in France has thus raised the question from the domain of theory to that of fact, and forced it upon the attention of her legislators. Indeed an official report on the subject will shortly be presented to the National Assembly.

France (and the whole of Europe), in the middle ages was covered with agricultural associations, which existed during several centuries, and largely contributed to the redemption of the soil and to the enfranchisement of the People. These agricultural communities were founded for the mutual protection of their members, and obtained possession of the soil under the protection of their feudal lords. They were composed of several peasant families, who held in common large tracts of land, which they cultivated for generations together, under the leadership of a single chief, elected from among themselves; and they lived altogether on the fruits of their united labour, sharing their food, land, and expenditure in community, a "commun pot, sol, et dépense." Living and toiling together on a common fund, these societies assumed a patriarchal character. No deed or written contract was necessary; the fact of dwelling together for a year and a day "demeurance d'un an et jour," by the old French law, was sufficient to legalize the Association, from this called "laisable," or tacit. The associates took the name of "Parçonniers," or partners. They ate of the same huge loaf. The "chanteau," a "candle," or great hunch of bread; hence they were also called "compagn, copain." The great common loaf became the emblem of these primitive societies, and when the "copains" determined to separate, the patriarch of the tribe was wont to take the "chanteau," and solemnly divide it into several portions; and this was the form, or ceremonial observed when the community was dissolved. Thus, the head of the community was called, the master of the "chanteau." He had control over all the affairs of the society, and with his "comparçonniers," or copartners, who were always consulted upon important occasions, somewhat resembled a modern association, of which he was the "gérant," or manager. It was the custom also to elect a mistress to rule the household, but she was seldom the wife or sister of the "master," lest she should favour his interests to the injury of the others. (The monasteries, "conventuals," hence, "conventus," were in fact agricultural associations; and M. Guizot remarks in his *History of Civilization*, that the Benedictines were the "defricheurs," or redeemers of the soil, and associated agriculture with preaching. "Qui laborat, orat." I would refer you also to the first chapter of Sir Walter Scott's *Monastery*, for a curious account of the "feuars," or church vassals, of the sixteenth century in Scotland.)

One of these singular peasant communities was still in existence in 1840, at a place called Jault, in the Nivernais, and M. Dupin, the president of the National Assembly, gave a full account of it in a letter to a M. Etienne, which was published in the newspapers. This community of Jault consisted of thirty-six persons—men, women, and children—and had been established from time immemorial. The name of the chief or master was Claude. Notwithstanding the dowers granted to the women who had married out of the family (sometimes amounting to 1350 francs, £54 sterling), the patrimonial domain was then estimated to be worth 200,000 francs (£8000 sterling). M. Dupin states that these people were

very charitable; the poor never applying for food in vain, and the chief said to him, "The bread goes fast in this house." But the community of Jault is no longer in existence, and with it has vanished the last vestige of these curious mediæval institutions, which flourished from the seventh to the seventeenth century.

It now remains to be seen whether self-supporting agricultural associations may not under a different form be again established in France.

M. Feugueray, in his interesting little work upon "Industrial and Agricultural Association," suggests that the communal domains, which form a tenth of the taxable portion of the soil, be devoted by the state, to this purpose. It would not be very difficult, in England, where, in the time of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, the land was also covered with a network of agricultural communities, designated by the name of Mark, or Shire, to make the work-houses self-supporting, by means of an amended poor-law, and thus convert these pauperizing anti-social institutions into national schools of industry. Montesquieu says, that "the state owes to every citizen a proper nourishment, convenient clothing, and a kind of life not incompatible with health." But this guarantee of subsistence can only be practically kept up when work is enforced, and the increase of mankind placed under the deliberate guidance of a judicious foresight.

In France there are four kinds of trading societies recognized by the commercial code:—

The first is one in which all the associates are individually responsible, both as to their persons and property, for the liabilities of the society, which is registered in the name of one or more of the associates; and these become the "raisons sociales" or representatives of the society. This is the "Société en nom collectif."

In the second, one or more of the associates become personally responsible for the society, and the remainder are liable only for the amount of their shares. This is called a "Société en commandite."

In the third, as in some of our joint-stock companies, the associates are liable only for the amount of their respective shares. The special sanction of the Government, however, is necessary for its formation. This is called the "Société anonyme."

The "Société en Participation" is a society formed only for a limited period, for some specific operations, and it is not adopted for coöperative labour.

In founding coöperative associations, the great difficulty to be overcome at the outset, is the acquisition of the necessary instruments of labour, and the still larger outlay sometimes indispensable for the purchase of raw or manufactured material, which, in some trades, that of the upholsterer, for instance, necessitates an amount of capital possessed by few working-men. This capital must therefore be raised either out of the savings of the associates, or by a loan from private individuals, or from the state, which last I think a questionable mode; and, generally speaking, the best-managed and most prosperous associations are those which, receiving no assistance whatever, have commenced with an extremely limited capital, and thus passed through a severe ordeal; for, as Lord Bacon says, in his beautiful essay on Adversity—"Prosperity doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue."

The working-classes in England already possess an enormous capital of 30,000,000 in the Savings Banks, which might be made available for the purpose of establishing a coöperative bank. One-sixtieth of this fund would be more than sufficient for the purpose—advances to be restricted to coöperative societies in very limited sums for three, six, or twelve months. And as soon as the associations have accumulated real property, an Insurance Society might be formed for the advance of fixed capital upon security.

The great success of the associations in Paris has, to a certain extent, removed this difficulty and established their credit; and in some quarters of the town the pay tickets of the associations, which are cashed at the end of every month, pass current among the tradespeople, and thus serve the double purpose of currency and of advertisement. An active promoter of the coöperative movement informed me that he had advanced 35,000 francs to different associations of working-men, every farthing of which had been punctually repaid. The associates are naturally very particular in selecting members, and the candidates for admission have to pass through an experimental apprenticeship before they are balloted for; and the superior comfort, contentment, and order which prevail in these establishments is very striking. Nevertheless, obstacles and difficulties will arise, and must be overcome. Associates are also liable to human infirmity; and the first six months test the worth both of the men and of their principles very severely. Some of the associations have been in full operation for several years; and, though jealousies have arisen as to the management, and there appears to be a disinclination on the part of the workmen adequately to remunerate headwork (which is more costly as it is more scarce and productive than mere hand work), still their opponents have been compelled

to acknowledge that the self-organized coöperation of labour must bring about some important changes in the social condition of the working-classes. But passing from general principles to their practical results, I will at once proceed with the history of the Paris Associations.

The first association established in Paris was that of the working-jewellers, founded in 1835.

The founders and promoters of this society were men who had spent their lives among the working-classes, who to their physical want and sufferings frequently add the still more intolerable evil of moral degradation. Their principal object was to ameliorate the social condition of the workman, and to raise him in the moral and social scale; to make him independent, and enable him to trust fearlessly to his own exertions and rely upon his own resources—thus converting the mere hired labourer into a working-partner in the enterprise. Their motto was "the emancipation of the working-classes." The problem to be solved was this:—To supply the industrious workman with the instruments and materials needful in his trade; and to protect him, if possible, by a kind of social insurance, against the evils resulting from the absence of employment for a lengthened period; and thus, by means of foresight and fraternal coöperation, gradually change the existing anarchy into industrial order.

Under the Monarchy, in 1834, all societies for the discussion of social or political questions having been suppressed, writings and tracts on the subject of coöperative association, in which the question was treated in a serious and scientific form, were circulated among the workmen, or thrown in their way. A working-jeweller on leaving home for his "atelier" one morning, picked up several of these tracts under the gateway of the house in which he lived. He glanced rapidly over them at meal time, and in the evening, when the labours of the day were over, he read them carefully through. The novel idea of coöperative association flashed upon him like a sudden inspiration. His mind became so much engrossed with the subject that it deprived him of sleep—notwithstanding his work-weariness. He at last communicated his thoughts to some of his intimate friends, who were equally impressed with the advantages to be gained by such a system of self-organization, if applied either to manufacturing or agricultural labour; and they thought only of realizing this great boon for the People. At length four of the jewellers formed themselves into an Association; their little savings, amounting to two hundred francs, being their sole resource. They drew up a code of rules and regulations—a very imperfect one—which was submitted to the men of law and modified, without finding means, however, to legalize the Association, and thus place it under the protection of the law.

M. Necker, the well-known financier, remarked that all civil institutions seem to have been formed for the proprietors. He says:—"It is frightful in opening the code of laws, everywhere to discover the evidence of this fact. It appears as if a small number of persons, after having divided the earth among them, had passed laws to secure themselves against the multitude, as it were a defence against wild animals of the forest." In the civil code, the interests of the working-classes had been completely overlooked. There was not a word about association, but coercive laws in abundance in the interest of the employers.

This omission, afterwards, proved very disastrous to the associates. After struggling through eight years of toilsome existence, just when their business was increasing, and they were beginning to realize considerable profits, the misconduct and egotism of two of their members nearly led to the dissolution of the society. These two dishonest men determined to appropriate a portion of the common fund, and with it they carried off a number of valuable models, and some of the best customers of the association; and thus they were enabled to do with impunity, in consequence of the defective state of the law.

Undismayed by reverses, the little band again recommenced their work, and this time, with the assistance of some enlightened members of the republican party, who took an interest in their welfare, the associates succeeded in obtaining the protection of the law as an association, and were finally registered in 1843.

In the preface of their contract they stated, that the undersigned workmen, considering that the association of labour is the true method of enfranchising the salaried classes, and removing the hostility which now exists between the employers and the workmen; considering that association is the best means of introducing order and peace into the industrial ranks, of preserving the sentiments of duty and morality, on which depend the future destiny of French society; considering that it is a simple application of the morality taught by Christianity, and is in conformity with the principles authorized by the civil law; wishing to set an example to their brethren, and to give them practical proof of the advantages of association; and being convinced that the association of labour is a work of devotedness, and of morality, and can only succeed on that condition; being therefore

determined to make all the personal sacrifices necessary for the success of the enterprise; have, in consequence, drawn up the present deed, which contains the principal basis of their Association; and all pledge themselves, before God and upon their honour, to execute scrupulously the conditions hereinafter stipulated.

By their new statutes every associate was required to renounce all attempts to establish himself independently of the society—under a penalty of 25,000*fr.* But, on the true Democratic principle, he was not required to bring any realized capital. All we require, said the associates, is good conduct and a sincere desire to work for the benefit of the Association.

A seventh of the profits of the society was reserved for the indivisible capital, in order to perpetuate ("éterniser") association; and in recognizing the collective authority of the members in the election of their managers and foremen, they acknowledged the sovereignty of the People. Instead of treating each other like enemies, and sacrificing the weak to the strong by the inexorable law of unrestricted hostile competition, they lived together like brothers. As men and as citizens, their duty was to fulfil these moral obligations, and by the generous spirit of voluntary coöperation to raise themselves to the social dignity of man. But they did not commit the error of adopting the system of equal wages, which they thought calculated only to lower and depress the energy and activity of the workman.

The principle of payment was this:—"In proportion to the work done, and according to the capacity of each; and at the end of the year the division of profits is made in the ratio of the daily pay."

This association has never numbered more than seventeen members; it now consists of eleven. The following reasons are assigned (in a return made by themselves) for the absence of the six:—

"Doubt of success" deprived them of "one associate."

"Delicate health and want of skill, of another."

"Love of gain, at the expense of (an exploitant) their brothers—two." "Moral death (or misconduct which is degrading)—one." "Natural death—one."

Ever since the association has been regularly constituted and acquired legal security, no misfortunes have occurred. Like other establishments, it has suffered from depression of trade, and from pecuniary embarrassment, yet it has punctually fulfilled all its engagements. Honest and straightforward in their dealings, the reputation for integrity of the associates is well established.

When the Government, in 1848, opened a credit of three millions of francs for promoting associations, the jewellers obtained a loan of 25,000 francs; and the following passage, taken from the report of the Government commissioner—M. Lefevre Duruflé—is a remarkable testimony in their favour, as that gentleman is hostile to the coöperative system. He says, in his report—"The association of jewellers established previously to 1848 appeared to be based upon sound and enduring principles. Although secular in its character, this association is founded on a religious idea. The directing authority is vigorously constituted, but mildly exercised. The moral improvement of its members, rather than the acquisition of wealth, which, however, has not been found wanting, is the aim of this society. In short, the most perfect harmony appears to reign in the community, which would be more conclusive in its results if its members were more numerous."

I will now direct your attention to the association of pianoforte makers in the Faubourg St. Denis, as another very remarkable instance of success.

The business of manufacturing pianos is divided into a number of distinct branches. The large manufacturer first places himself in communication with the "chefs de spécialité," or heads of each particular branch, who realize large profits. The heads of departments then enter into contracts, by piecework, with other master workers or foremen, of whom there are a limited number; and, lastly, these foremen or contractors employ the working-men, and reap their profits out of the skill, strength, and low wages of the men; and thus, however liberal and generous be the head manufacturer, wages often decline to twenty or thirty pence a day. This business of the middleman or contractor is called *marchandage*; and during the revolutionary period of 1848 the words, "No more *marchandage*!" were inscribed upon the banners of the workmen.

When the Constituent Assembly opened a credit of 3,000,000 of francs in favour of the associations, out of 3000 working pianoforte makers generally stationary in Paris, several hundreds acting in concert together determined to solicit the Government for a loan for the purpose of founding a great association. After the lapse of several months their request was refused. By that time the individual resources of the workmen were exhausted, and the great association failed; but fourteen of the men resolved to persevere, and each brought a contribution according to his means—some brought money, but in very small sums, amounting to 229*fr.* (£9) in all. (Although first established on the 8th of

March, 1849, the association was not formally registered until the 10th of December following.) Their most important acquisition was the remnant of a stock of well-seasoned wood, valued at £80, which belonged to one of the associates who had been himself unsuccessful in business. This man when isolated, and with an insufficient amount of capital, was unable to maintain his position, but the novel idea of coöperative association opened a fair prospect of redemption to him, and thus also, perhaps unconsciously to himself, he became an instrument of good to others. He died, however, in a few months prematurely (of cholera), but ten unfinished pianos, forming part of his old stock, were completed by his brother associates for his widow and her children, whom she is thus enabled to maintain by letting out the pianos for hire.

For some months the associates suffered great privations, and were obliged to deny themselves even the necessities of life; but, after three months of anxiety and suffering, a purchaser from Sweden appeared, and on the 4th of May, 1849, the price of their first piano was received—a peaceful conquest in the cause of association. After payment of some pressing debts the share of each associate amounted to 6*fr.* 12 *sous*; and after appropriating 5*fr.* to each of them, the surplus was devoted to a fraternal fête. For one day the ateliers were deserted, and all the associates with their wives and children adjourned to the neighbouring "barrière." For another month they were obliged to content themselves with 5*fr.* a week. In June, a musical baker offered to purchase a piano for 480*fr.*, to be paid in kind (in bread). The value of this bread, however, was not deducted from their wages; every one ate as much as he wanted, and the married associates were freely allowed to carry home sufficient bread for their wives and children. After the month of August their wages gradually rose to 10*fr.*, 15*fr.*, and 20*fr.* a week; but, before this payment was made, the amount necessary for the purchase of tools and materials was deducted for the benefit of the whole association; and all surplus money was placed respectively to the credit of each associate. The system of payment adopted in this association is by piece work, according to a tariff fixed upon by the general assembly; but a per centage is retained from the share of each member until he have completed the sum of 1000*fr.*, when 5 per cent. is paid upon all further deposits. Profits are divided equally. But all the improvements or services rendered by individual associates are duly registered, and rewards are voted for them, as a stimulus to zeal and intelligence.

The neat and accurate manner in which the books are kept, under the superintendence of the family council, "*conseil de famille*," and manager, elected by ballot, is very striking. "*Maintien de tous les fonctionnaires*," is the motto generally adopted by the associates, and sometimes written on their balloting-papers. Three accounts are opened in the name of each member, by which he can ascertain, at any moment, the general state of affairs and of his own account as a shareholder and stipendiary. The capital or stock accumulated now amounts to 45,000*fr.*, with about 5000*fr.* in money in the coffers of the association, which now consists of thirty-two members. Two hundred and fifty-five pianos have been completed and sold, besides two sent over to the great Exhibition, under the name of Detir (the *gérant*) and Co.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of these societies, to which none but working-members are admitted, is the accumulation of an indivisible capital or hereditary fund, destined for the use of successive generations of workmen. The indivisibility of this fund has been objected to by some (very sincere friends of association), as tending to Communism; but I do not think the objection of much weight. Communism, as I said before, being the negation of all individual property, tends also to annihilate individual liberty; but under the coöperative system, individual property and liberty are perfectly secured. It is of the utmost importance to impress upon the working-classes the absolute necessity of accumulating capital, and the Economists are very touchy upon this point. But when the moral and intellectual faculties of the People are fully developed by a sound system of education, the claims of *family*—of the rising generation, will be found quite as powerful an incentive to economy as the thrift of the most spirited capitalist.

In all the associations a fund is set apart for the relief of the widows, orphans, and invalid associates, besides a reserve, in case of any casualties or contingencies which may and do frequently occur. The surplus profits, varying from 60 to 80, or even 90 per cent., are then divided among the members, either in equal or unequal proportions according to the statutes of the association. The workmen are now generally opposed to the system of equal wages, and it would appear that nearly similar objections apply to an equal division of profits.

A singular trial of the system of equal wages was made by M. Lodard, a French bottle-maker, at the request of his workmen, and signally failed. The system of equal wages and equal profit, however,

still exists in a few of the Paris associations. M. Lodard's men, it appears, had been accustomed to work by piece, each receiving so much for 100 bottles blown. They proposed that the payment per 100 bottles should be continued, but that the whole earnings of each day should be thrown into a common stock, and equally divided. For the maintenance of emulation, and the satisfaction of the "point of honour," it was agreed that each man's produce should be written up, day by day, against the workshop wall. For a few days, there was great emulation; each workman struggling to establish his superiority. This point once fairly ascertained, the skilful workmen rested from time to time, to let their slower comrades catch them up. When reproached for their indolence, they severally replied, "Of what do you complain? I make as many bottles as the best man here." The second-best workmen soon took to resting also; and the third and fourth hands gradually followed their example. At last, the most of the workmen would reply, "It is not I who make the fewest bottles or spoil the most." In this way the rate of production, and with it the rate of wages, gradually declined; till, at the end of eight months, there was a falling-off of twenty per cent.

Next season M. Lodard resumed the old plan of paying the men according to the number and quality of the bottles produced respectively by each. The earnings of the master and men immediately rose to their former level. Thus, under the equal-wages system, the worst workman became the standard; but fair competition, with wages proportioned to individual industry and skill, restored the best workman to his natural position, as example or leader to the rest.

As Mr. Mill observes:—"There has never been imagined any mode of distributing the produce of industry so well adapted to the requirements of human nature, on the whole, as that of letting the share of each individual (not in a state of bodily or mental incapacity) depend, in the main, on that individual's own resources and exertions, and on such furtherance as may be obtained from the voluntary good offices of others." Competition, however, has only become the governing principle in contracts at a comparatively modern date. They were, and some still are, under the influence of custom, which was the protection of the weak against the strong.

The important association of the block-tin-men is a perfect model of good order and cheerfulness. This business holds an important place in the mechanical industry of Paris, and gives support to 1800 families. In the department of the Seine there are 150 master workmen, who employ about 1500 hands, one-third of whom are stationary, while the rest are constantly fluctuating, and are thus led to form unsettled habits.

The division of labour, which is carried to an extreme, and the scarcity of work during six months of the year, had reduced the average rate of wages to thirty pence a day; and, in the crisis of 1847, that average fell to twenty pence.

The following description of the appearance of this association is by an American, who examined it with the greatest care:—

"Passing through a narrow passage between the rear of two theatres in the Rue de Bondy, I came upon a court-yard, filled with trees and shrubbery, and reminding you more of a pleasant country village, than of the sombre purlieus of mechanical industry in a crowded city. The space was dotted with several small neat cottages, each with a garden and a cluster of trees, and in the centre a building of more pretensions, which proved to be the shop of the associated workmen. On entering the first floor, I found a warehouse well supplied with manufactured goods, and convenient work-rooms, with an excellent stock of tools, and everything in admirable order. The workmen were as busy as bees, and wore a happy satisfied look, which I have rarely found among the labouring-classes in Europe. The whole appearance of the place showed that it was a money-making concern, and no mistake."

The history of this association, which is as follows, shows that it also had to pass through the ordeal of adversity:—

The first meeting of the trade was held on March 12, 1848, and a mutual aid society formed by acclamation. Weekly meetings were then commenced, and continued until the outbreak in June, when Paris was declared to be in a state of siege. The meetings, however, were resumed in the following October, with a less numerous, but more interested attendance. A proposition was made to establish a limited association, subject to the regulations of the code of commerce, and a contract or deed was drawn up, but no capital was forthcoming. The articles of association were at last adopted on December 3, 1848, about 300 francs in cash having been raised by voluntary subscription, and tools and stock to the amount of 400 francs contributed by the workmen. A workshop was hired for 500 francs, and after getting fairly afloat, 10 francs only remained in the coffers of the associates. The first order was for a lantern, 12 francs, but this piece of good fortune was not soon repeated. The wages, which had been fixed at two francs a day, were reduced to three, then two, and

finally to one franc a week. The association was reduced to three persons before the close of March, 1849, and they were only enabled to support themselves by sharing the bread of some friendly unassociated workmen.

These three men roughed it out till the tide turned—never once losing heart. Business came to them at last; but instead of appropriating it to themselves they devoted the profits to the common interest, and as fast as their means would permit they readmitted their starved out associates. Orders now increased, and they were enabled to lay out 700*fr.* for the purchase of stock.

About this time their shop was broken into and all their cash carried off, while the reactionary press insinuated that the money had been stolen by the associates themselves.

They now thought that it was all over with their enterprise, and were about to dissolve the concern, when several other associations came to their assistance. These contributions were accepted as a loan; and beginning with five francs a week, they paid back the whole sum in small instalments, according to their means.

In order to gain confidence they put a stamp upon their goods, which increased their business, especially among exporting merchants. They then took up the manufacture of fixtures for gas, and with the increase of profits have been enabled to hire their present comfortable quarters at a rent of 2500*fr.* a year.

By the side of this little sunny picture of social life and coöperative labour, based upon a moral principle, I will now place another, painted in more sombre colours, and which I fear is but too correct a description of the moral and social condition of a number of our fellow-creatures.

M. Leon Faucher, the reactionary Minister of L. Napoleon, in his work upon England, published in 1846, gives the following description of a small manufacturing town in England, with a population of 9000 souls, and his statements are fully corroborated by the evidence of Mr. Horne, the Government sub-commissioner. M. Faucher says:—"The little town of Willenhall, within a few miles of Wolverhampton, is a city of locksmiths, consisting of workshops and public houses (of which there are sixty). There are no large traders or proprietors—only mechanics living from hand to mouth. They spend their wages in food and drink, and when the wages are gone they drink upon credit, until credit also be exhausted. Then under the pressure of want they work as long as their limbs sustain them, and, though naturally indolent, will then labour for days (of twenty hours) without even sitting down to meals. When a gross of locks has been completed they are taken over to Wolverhampton; and who," asks M. Faucher, "can compete with men who sell locks for eightpence a dozen, which in London will fetch one shilling each?" The privations these men endure exceed belief. Their appearance is so peculiar as to be distinguishable among the population of the neighbouring towns. Their faces are haggard, their persons filthy, their limbs wasted and rickety, their skin appears dried and thickened from the smoke. The stiffened right hand locks as though it were actually twisted. The under lip hangs down, indicating discouragement and absence of thought. In old age the features become hard, angular, and inflexible as though they had taken the impress of their perpetual toil. Their food consists of potatoes and bad bacon. Their workrooms have neither doors nor windows. Before each house lies a sweltering dung heap; and typhus fever raged for seven years uninterruptedly in Willenhall. The condition of the apprentices is dreadful. They are generally taken, with a premium, from the workhouses of Walsall, Coventry, and Tamworth; are miserably fed, clothed, and over-worked. A common mode of punishment is that of "clammimg," or half starving them, and they are often cruelly beaten.

Yet strange to say, the population of Willenhall had increased 50 per cent., in the ten years ending 1841, while that of Birmingham had increased only 25 per cent., being in the inverse ratio of their comfort and well being. These statements need no comment.

In Willenhall the system of hostile competition, of *laissez faire*, and the devil take the hindmost, has been carried out to its fullest extent, and see the result. But this state of things is not peculiar to England: the condition of the population of Lisle, in France, is equally deplorable. It is not peculiar to the locksmith's trade; for I have seen an association of them in Paris, in the early days of its existence too, when the men were insufficiently fed, and evidently suffering great privations; yet order, industry, and patient endurance were their distinguishing characteristics.

Although deeply impressed with the important advantages which are likely to accrue from a wide and extensive application of the system of coöperative labour, yet I would at the same time warn you not to be too sanguine of easy and immediate success; for the path to independence—or, rather, to self-dependence—is a thorny one, and those who enter upon it must be prepared to endure the alterna-

tions of fear and hope—which being deferred maketh the heart sick.

Coöperation, though it cannot create work nor suppress competition, may regulate and increase production; and as free is more productive than slave labour, so also will the produce of independent coöperatives be more profitable than that of mere hired operatives. Already the manufactures of the Paris Associations have obtained the preference in the market; and by an equitable division of the demand for labour, and a judicious use of the system of credit, they have been enabled, to a certain extent, to insure their members against non-employment. Coöperative societies may also become an efficient mode of removing the evils attendant upon the system of apprenticeship. But the working-classes must not forget that in the factory and mining districts, the parents too often prove themselves the most cruel taskmasters. Even in one of the Paris Associations I found a boy of fourteen, prematurely earning three francs a day, under his father's immediate superintendence.

Although coöperation alone will never suppress pauperism (a question not to be usefully discussed apart from that of population), it may secure for the workman an equitable share in the produce of his own labour, and enable him to execute his work under more favourable circumstances; and these circumstances would be materially improved by the success of the present sanitary agitation, which is essentially a People's movement.

Finally, coöperation, by making the workman self-dependent, will also emancipate him from the sweating system of the contractors and middle men, and as the best and most intelligent workmen and agriculturists gradually form themselves into associations, they will be enabled to free themselves and their descendants from their present condition of serf-like dependence. But, in my opinion, that moral improvement, which is the inevitable concomitant of the emancipation of labour, is the most valuable and important of the many and various results which may be anticipated from the success which I heartily desire may attend upon the Coöperative Associations.

The great struggle which has been going on in France ever since the revolution of 1848 has been a struggle between the working and proprietary classes, or capitalists, for a more equitable division of profits. This struggle, however, has given a powerful stimulus to the coöperative, or joint-stock societies, and some very important alterations have taken place in the laws affecting the social position of the workman in relation to his employer.

In all the large towns in France, whenever disputes arise between the masters and workmen, they are referred to and decided by a council of *prud'hommes* (skilful or able persons in an art or trade). This council was formerly composed of masters only. In vain the *Atelier*, the organ of the workmen, supported by the *National*, urged upon Government the necessity for reform. It was not until the Monarchy had crumbled to pieces from its own inherent corruption, and Republican liberty had been proclaimed, that M. Bethmont, the Minister of Commerce under the Provisional Government, was authorized to frame a new law relative to the composition of this tribunal. Under this new law, which was presented to the Constituent Assembly by his successor, M. Flocon, and passed, after being slightly modified, the council of *prud'hommes* was reformed, and it is now composed of masters and workmen, in equal numbers. (It was only in 1748 that the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions took place in Scotland. Down to this period, a tenant who had any dispute with a landlord, could only appeal to him, or to some one else of the same class.) The election of M. Bonaparte to the Presidency has, for a time, checked the development of these progressive social reforms, and paralyzed the action of the only practical Reformers in France—the Republican minority of the National Assembly—the only party which has a national policy, and one favourable to the principles of commercial freedom. Indeed, France appears to be in danger of relapsing into a state of anarchy and confusion, resulting from the reactionary policy adopted by the imperialist and monarchical factions. The only Conservative element in the midst of all this violence and folly, is the wonderful capacity for self-organization manifested by the labouring-classes, who are exposed, however, to the incessant interference of the police. Under pretext that the coöperative associations serve only as a mask for the formation of political societies, the Government of M. Bonaparte has pursued them with unparalleled rancour, and the working-men, unprotected by any law of *habeas corpus*, have been flung, without even the form of trial, into some one of the numerous bastilles of this new "ancien régime;" or, if allowed the privilege of trial (for justice has, in France, become a privilege), the juryman, in the department of the Seine, are taken by lot from a list of three thousand persons, nominated by the Government itself—a kind of lottery of blanks in which the victim has no chance. Thus, on the 14th November, 1850, twenty-three members of the union of the Paris Associations, under pretext of their having formed a secret political society, were severely punished. One

of them, named Delbrouck, was condemned to fifteen months' imprisonment, to 500 francs fine, and to be deprived of his civil rights for five years.

Instead of resorting to decided yet moderate and legal measures of repression, when needful, and thus endeavouring to gain strength, by a gradual development of constitutional principles, and by a wise toleration of public discussion, this caricature of Imperialism has only prolonged a reign of terror and violence. Three millions of electors have been insolently disfranchised, as felons and vagrants; the education of the people deliberately sacrificed, in order to propitiate the priests and Jesuits, headed by Montalembert; and a regular crusade proclaimed against the press, or rather against the organs of the Republican party. Of course, with such a select company of jurymen, convictions follow each other in rapid succession, and fine and imprisonment has been inflicted by these mild, papal, propagandists for an article against capital punishment. Such is the novel form of constitutional government in France at this moment, which has received the support of an influential portion of the English press.

But, consolidated as it were by the pressure from without, these adverse circumstances seem to have imparted additional vigour to the cooperative principle; and the associations, by their own internal strength, have been enabled to resist the blind fury of the political storms which threatened these industrial edifices with destruction.

Thus, in defiance of papacy and absolutism, France—the great experimental laboratory for all new social and political theories—having, in 1848, initiated a vast political movement, which must ultimately absorb all the Continental powers of Europe, as into a vortex, is now silently but actively engaged, with her myriad-handed people, in consolidating her republican institutions, by means of a peaceful social movement—"The self-organization of labour."

Why, then, are you, the people of England, so apathetic on all social and political questions? Absorbed in your present prosperity, have you lost all recollection of past sufferings? Do you not anticipate the possibility of future calamities? For you political action has become a moral duty, because it is so inseparably connected with your social emancipation. Indeed, the enfranchisement of the adult male population is valuable only as a step to other organic and social reforms, among which I regard as the most important, in connection with the cooperative system, an improved distribution, and largely increased subdivision of property—especially of landed property, and an amended law of inheritance—the abolition of primogeniture.

Land, in this, is different from other kinds of property, that it was the original inheritance of the human race; and though public reasons exist for its being appropriated, yet the mode of its distribution is a matter of human institution. This, therefore, depends on the laws and customs of society, and the rules by which it is determined are very different in different ages and countries, and may be still further altered and improved whenever society chooses. The vast accumulation of wealth in a limited number of hands has a tendency to generate luxury and extravagance; and while one class of the community is engaged in supplying wants thus artificially created, and their labour diverted from its legitimate channel of useful production, another large class is deprived of even that "proper nourishment and convenient clothing" which the state owes to every citizen, and has to endure a kind of life altogether incompatible with health. But as Mr. Mill very wisely says, "It is not the subversion of individual property that should be aimed at, but the improvement of it, and the participation of every member of the community in its benefits. The principle of private property has never yet had a fair trial in any country; and less so, perhaps, in this country than in some others. The social arrangements of modern Europe commenced from a distribution of property which was the result, not of just partition, or acquisition by industry, but of conquest and violence; and notwithstanding what industry has been doing for many centuries to modify the work of force, the system still retains many traces of its origin. The laws of property have never yet conformed to the principles on which the justification of private property rests. They have made property of things which never ought to be property, and absolute property where only a qualified property ought to exist. They have not held the balance fairly between human beings, but have heaped impediments upon some to give advantages to others; they have purposely fostered inequalities and prevented all from starting fair in the race. That all should indeed start on perfectly equal terms, is inconsistent with any law of private property; but if the tendency of legislation had been to favour the diffusion, instead of the concentration, of wealth,—to encourage the subdivision of the large masses, instead of striving to keep them together,—the principle of individual property would have been found to have no necessary connection with the physical and social evils which have made so many minds turn eagerly to any prospect of relief, however desperate.

The Lecturer wound up with a brief account of the English Associations

ROMAN CATHOLIC CONSECRATION.

Four new bishops have been lately consecrated, owing to the rapid way in which the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill made its way in the Lords.

The first consecration took place at the Church of St. John, Salford, on the 25th of July. There, amid a blaze of wax lights, Cardinal Wiseman consecrated Dr. Turner Bishop of Salford, and Dr. Errington Bishop of Plymouth. Persons were admitted to see the spectacle, by the payment of five shillings, to the choir and nave aisles, and half-a-crown and eighteenpence to other parts of the building. The place was crowded. The ceremony was as gorgeous and impressive as Roman Catholic ritual could make it—and the accessories to the ceremony were of the highest order. Dr. Paul Cullen, primate of Ireland; Dr. Briggs, bishop of Beverley; Dr. Ullathorne, bishop of Birmingham; and Dr. Wareing, bishop of Northampton, and several other prelates were present.

But the provincial celebration was surpassed in grandeur by the ceremony performed on Sunday in the great metropolitan Church in St. George's-fields. It is more than three hundred years since Roman Catholic prelates were consecrated with English territorial titles; and on Sunday there was not only the novelty of the spectacle to attract, but the unusual circumstances of the occasion invested it with additional interest.

Soon after ten o'clock mass the church began to fill, and by eleven o'clock it was crowded in every part. Meanwhile a double row of acolytes robed in white and bearing lighted tapers, took their station along the aisle. Wax-lights shone forth from the altar, around which hung wreaths of flowers. Soon after eleven a procession coming from the sacristy marched up the aisle, composed of the two bishops elect, Dr. Burgess of Shrewsbury, and Dr. Brown, Bishop of Clifton, each supported by two bishops, and Cardinal Wiseman, the bishops elect in simple sacerdotal vestments, the assistant bishops and the Cardinal wearing full pontifical robes. When they had reached the altar and seated themselves, the choir, accompanied by the organ, sang the "Gloria in Excelsis" and "Kyrie, Eleison." When these were concluded the "Ecce Sacerdos" followed, and the Cardinal with the bishops proceeded to the consecrating altar. Here the two bishops elect were presented to the Cardinal; the bishops made confession of their faith in the Holy Catholic Church; and the ceremony of investiture was performed. Their simple vestments were thrown aside; and the gorgeous garments of a Catholic prelate assumed instead, the golden cross on the breast, the sandals, the stoles, and the rich adornments for the hands and feet. Then they knelt down, the Cardinal standing, while the edifice rung with the echoes of the Litany of the Saints, and when the last notes died away along the roof, the Cardinal uttered a short prayer, made the sign of the cross above their bended heads, laid on the shoulders of the candidates the Book of the Gospels, at which moment they received from him "the tradition of the Holy Scriptures." Cardinal Wiseman made the sign of the cross on the foreheads of the kneeling prelates with the blessed oil, wiping it away afterwards, while the organ and choir performed the "Veni, Creator," the Cardinal himself singing the first and second verses. Then the croziers and episcopal rings worn by Roman Catholic bishops were presented, "having been previously sanctified and sprinkled with holy water." A gift of the Gospel and the "Kiss of Peace" completed the ceremonial. Thus consecrated, they partook of the holy communion, received the benediction of the Cardinal and their mitres and gloves, acknowledged his authority by three genuflections, marched twice round the church, and dined in the evening with Cardinal Wiseman.

THE ECLIPSE OF MONDAY.

The eclipse of the sun on Monday was an entire failure as an exhibition in London. Grey clouds scudded thick and fast over the sky, and the existence of the sun itself had to be taken for granted. There were some smart showers in the forenoon—indeed up to two o'clock, when the weather partially cleared up, and the clouds were thinner around the sun. Soon after two, the beginning of the eclipse was visible to very persevering mortals; the sun looking much like a ball of illuminated ground glass with a piece chipped out. By degrees as the clouds separated, the patch of darkness assumed a more decided form; and some time before three o'clock, the form of the moon was visible, and more than half of the sun obscured. But after three, down came dark masses of cloud, carefully concealing the sun and moon and everything else skyward. Smoked glass telescopes ceased to be of the slightest use. The gazers gave the matter up in despair. Everybody went about his business with his accustomed alacrity; and, in the classical language of the turf, the whole thing was a "sell." Even the darkness which had been predicted did not come off. On a gloomy day like Monday, half a dozen moons might have all come between us and the sun and made no difference in the light. London was dull, it is true; but then it is so often dull that nobody took any notice of that phenomenon.

In Devonshire there was a drizzle, and in Durham fine weather. The good folks of Dublin saw the eclipse to perfection. But nowhere in England was there darkness which may be felt; and all anticipations proved erroneous.

In Paris the eclipse was very visible, the sun shining with great brilliancy at the moment when the moon rolled between us and the solar rays. All Paris looked upward and saw.

At Frankfurt the weather was likewise fine. The whole progress of the observation was visible. Great numbers were on the look out. The darkness was not at all remarkable. At present the light was likened to moonlight; in Germany it is called shade.

THE LAND OF THE LABOURING MAN.

Mississippi, June 12, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR,—I know that you have a good deal of anxiety relative to the subject of emigration, for your sympathies with the toiling thousands of Great Britain have been often and eloquently expressed in your paper; and I must reproach myself for having remained idle for so long a time in not communicating with you. Since I enjoyed the comfort of an English fireside amidst my friends and relatives, about twelve months have elapsed. Prior to that time, I had ample opportunity of inquiring into and making myself acquainted with the condition of the working-classes of the agricultural districts of various parts of England; and as I was born and raised amongst the noble-hearted agriculturists of Lincolnshire, you will not be surprised at my "fellow feeling" with that class of the community who have to subsist upon the cultivation of the soil. Fully believing in the doctrine that "labour is the source and parent of wealth," I could never see without regret the producers of wealth so neglected, so injured, and, I must confess, so imposed upon, as they were and still are. I had been taught to consider that it was upon the labourer and workman that we had to depend for our daily bread, for our comforts, our prosperity and happiness. It is they who till the ground, who reap the harvest, and who transform the rough material of Nature into some useful purposes for the benefit of the human race. Whenever I saw a demonstration amongst the rich, there attached were the marks of the workman. At the balls, routs, and festive gatherings, where joy and mirth held undisputed sway, as "my lady" tripped with graceful ease in her superb trappings, my mind oftentimes asked in what garret reclined the wearied form and aching head of the poor needlewoman who made the ornaments, or the poor weaver who spun the fabrics? Whenever I saw a dinner given to "my lord," and the "tables groaning" beneath the weight of the choice and substantial viands, my thoughts wandered to the agricultural labourers, who, perhaps, in ignorance and want, might be pining out their existence. Contrary to what, in my humble judgment, I conceived to be the just and equitable position of the working-classes, I ever saw them looked upon in the meanest light, and treated rather as burdens upon, than useful members of, society; and thus partially obliterating every manly feeling of honourable self-dependence which they ought to possess. It is now about two years since I travelled over various portions of the county of Lincoln; and if at that time any human being could look upon the condition of the agricultural labouring population without feelings of sympathy, I can only say that such a one must have had an unnatural or marble heart. I found the peasantry working for seven or eight shillings per week, and even then begging for employment. Out of this pittance they had their families to maintain and house-rent to pay. But how they accomplished such a feat was to me a perpetual wonder. It is needless that I should add, fathers had to eat sparingly to give their children a portion of the coarse provisions, and mothers with the child at the breast had often to suffer with the requirements of nature unsatisfied!

My duty was to collect small debts from these humble villagers, whom "hard times" and worse circumstances had driven slightly into debt. I found on one occasion an aged son of the soil (whose gaunt limbs portrayed the great physical power that once dwelt within him) reclining upon a bed of straw in his infirmity. In answer to my application for a debt of 2s., he candidly confessed—"It cannot be paid, Sir; for my son and his wife almost starve themselves to maintain their family and myself, who cannot work, and if it wasn't for my lady, the clergyman's wife, we should not be able to live at all." On another occasion I applied for one shilling of a woman of rather youthful appearance; she wept, and declared her inability to pay, but at the same time begged that her husband might not be acquainted with the particulars, for he had sworn rather to die than get into debt, and she did not know what he would do if he discovered she owed the shilling. At the end she promised to pay in a month, and at the expiration of that time she walked seven miles and paid half the amount—viz., sixpence! Other instances I could enumerate of a similar character, but such cases are too well known amongst men of small business in the country.

Every man of rational understanding can conceive

an idea of the feelings of the English labourers, who are compelled to toil from day to day, and year to year, under such discouraging circumstances; how the bright and glowing sensations of young hearts are crushed and blighted by the system in operation, and what crimes are committed in consequence of the evil tempers generated through misfortune. It might have been that, ere this, a higher and better tone should have pervaded the higher ranks of society towards the working-man: a tone brought about by the sympathy of feeling from one to another, and by the dissemination of education. But alas, no; for we plainly see the condition of the labourer becoming worse and worse. It might have been, that those whom chance has placed above being compelled to work, should, out of thankfulness to a Divine Providence for their good fortune, have assisted to raise labourers from their degraded position. But, alas, no, again; for appearances would justify the conclusion that the employer is more anxious than ever to drive lower into the abyss of privation those who create his wealth. Although physical force is not resorted to, yet the force of hunger is applied as an incentive, where cheerful pleasure should attend the success of productive industry. The real producer of wealth, in fact, derives nothing but misery in exchange for his work, and he has to view with mortification the golden eared grain waving to the breeze, and to feel the anguish that others reap the blessings he has toiled to produce; whilst, during a cheerless winter, his soul is harrowed by gazing upon the piled-up fruits of his industry during the time he and his family starve in neglect! Oh, what a moral is this to those who live amidst the whirl of fashion, and spend their wealth on the follies of the age! All of us have the same knowledge of right and wrong—we can suffer no injury to be inflicted upon us without feeling the injustice, nor can we commit a wrong without feelings of shame. It should be remembered by those who are rich, that fortune is but a temporary favour, and that any sudden organic change might make the rich poor, and the poor rich. The Divine precept teaches "that he who will not work, neither shall he eat;" but, unfortunately, things "at home" seemed to be constituted on a different plan, and man's practice and Holy Writ were evidently much at variance; at least, I must confess things looked to me in that light. I said to myself, "The Creator, in his all-wise providence, in his beneficence and goodness to man, gave the earth that man might enjoy and reap the latent blessings that lay in its bosom. He never could have intended that in individuals should be rich and multitudes poor; that one class of men should kill themselves by idleness and gluttony, whilst another class of men faded from the earth, worn out by excessive labour and starvation. No," said I, "God is just to all alike; the same breath of life that was breathed into the nostrils of the aristocrat and noble was also breathed into those of the plebeian; the same sun warms all alike, both rich and poor; all have the same acute feelings of pain and pleasure, of fear and hope, of happiness and misery; and it is, therefore, but the mere chance of circumstance which places one man over another, in a pocket or pecuniary point of view.

"The rank is but the guinea stamp,
The man's the goud for a' that."

To the labourers and the working-classes generally I would say, as a friend, as one who works for his livelihood, and who has not a sixpence he does not earn, I would say—"Are you anxious to better your condition?" But why need I ask such a question? Of course you are. Not one of you but envies your rich brewers, or your squires, or your merchants, or your superiors as the cant phrase of the world goes. Not one of you but would like to have a day's hunting, shooting, or fishing; not one of you but would like to sit down at a table well supplied with the substantial necessities and luxuries of life. Not one of you but would like to see your wives happy, your families well fed, your children educated—to see your house a substantial building, the land attached freehold and your own. Not one of you but would like to feel that you had something which would enable you to say, I too am a lord of the soil! And, although money, for its intrinsic value, may be despised, yet there is not one of you but would like to have some of the glittering gold of California in your pockets when you put on your chapeau to go out for business or pleasure. But doubtless you say, "How are such advantages to be gained? Where are we to get horses, dogs, guns, for all this that you talk of? How are we to rival the rich brewers, the imperious Tomkins, or Snodgrass the innkeeper, or the thousand and one knights of notoriety by whom we are surrounded? We earn but 7s. or 8s. per week, and cannot save enough for a pipe of tobacco, much less for lands and houses!"

These are certainly very important questions to be asked, and I will proceed to answer them. This letter is written in the United States of America by one who will vouch for the accuracy of his statements. In this country there are millions of acres of land, as fine as any "that e'er a crow flew over," rich in soil, easily cultivated, with a climate healthy and bracing as your own native hills. Here labour is

wealth, and it is paid for accordingly. Now, therefore, is your time to take advantage of circumstances. I will give you an illustration by speaking for a time of the State of Illinois. A gentleman there, of the highest respectability and standing, who has 200 acres of land, tells me that now he has grown old, he gets his farm cultivated on the halves system as follows:—He finds implements, seed, horses, and all necessities, which he supplies to his man; this man then cultivates the land and then reaps half the crop for his own benefit, the employer getting the other half. In other words, the man is housed, fed, and provided with the requirements on the farm. He merely works, and, as a remuneration, is paid with half the crop, inclusive too of the increase of cattle, poultry, &c. Labourers' wages range from 10 to 15 dollars per month, with board, lodging, washing, &c., or the average may, perhaps be quoted at 150 dollars a year. Now, there is at this moment room and requirement in this one State for 150,000 labourers and as many families, although emigrants are pouring in by thousands from every quarter. At the present time, various lines of railroad are in progress of construction; a perfect network of lines, will, in fact, be made for the advantage of the farmer, and, of course, labour is necessary for the continuance of the works. Suppose, therefore, that labourers came here and got 150 dollars per year each, they could save 100 dollars out of the amount, for that sum eighty acres of Government land could be bought. Next year a similar sum might be saved and two horses bought with it; a third year, and the labourer would have money to purchase implements, &c., and if he were rather short, he could borrow a trifle to buy timber to build his house. His neighbours would turn in to help him to put his house together, and then he is fairly started. The plough needs but to be driven into the earth, the seed sown, and the crop reaped; the labourer commences to make his fortune. He can work as much, or as little, as he pleases. If he has a family, they are well educated nearly gratuitously; he can hunt, sport, fish, and be as happy as any prince in the land. I will speak a little further of Illinois. It is 382 miles long, and contains 57,900 square miles, or 37,056,000 acres. In 1810, the population was 12,282; in 1820, 55,211; in 1830, 157,000; and at the present time it has a population of 853,059 whites, and a free coloured population of 5239. Here is a progress for you in the short space of time alluded to; and yet, if you cast out the sum, you will see how very small the number of people to the number of acres. Mechanics, as well as labourers of every kind, are wanted. Nobody need despair of employment. I could give you a full and accurate description of this and the adjoining state, but I shall not have time in this letter. The staple productions of Illinois are Indian corn, wheat, and other grain; Irish and sweet potatoes, beef, pork, horses, cattle, &c. Wine can be made. Cotton, too, for coarse purposes can be raised, as also hemp, flax, &c. Apples, peaches, plums, pears, cherries, grapes, gooseberries, and currants arrive at great perfection. The wild fruits consist of grapes, plums, cherries, gooseberries, mulberries, blackberries, persimons (a delightful fruit), raspas and strawberries. The wild animals are deer, a few brown bears, wolves, foxes, racoons, squirrels, opossums, rabbits, turkeys, &c. Horses, cattle, and hogs are raised with the greatest ease, and can be fed on the large waste lands. A few dollars will purchase swine; and in a little time the farmer has a large stock around him fed on waste. He can slaughter and sell them in the various markets to great advantage, or salt and send the pork to New Orleans or other places. His hides, tallow, butter, cheese, &c., he can always easily sell. Wild and tame fowls can be had in abundance; honey, wild and from domesticated bees, can be secured in large quantities; there is a ready sale for it, as well as for the bees' wax. Minerals of various characters abound in every direction, but more on this head will soon be known, as a geological survey is about to be made throughout Wisconsin and Illinois. Castor oil from the Palma Christi, is also made. Towns have sprung up in all directions, and mills of both steam and water power are in operation. Education is carefully attended to in nearly all parts of the United States. In the backwoods of Louisiana about three months since, I was offered thirty-five dollars per month and board, &c., to teach twenty-five boys, but my occupation and cultivation led me to other duties. This will show you how anxious the people are for education, and the Government always provides public land to pay the schoolmasters and teachers.

Here, then, are a few of the advantages to emigrants offered in one state. Wisconsin, Iowa, the territory of Minnesota, and other places, have equally great inducements. For the sake then of yourselves and your families, remain no longer in your present condition. By October next, I am informed the best part of Wisconsin will be surveyed and brought into the market. The land there will be cheap, so that you may get whatever advantage may arise from such a sale, by your agents or otherwise. When good land is offered for sale, it often happens that companies purchase in large quantities, and then it is retailed at high prices. This may be the case with the land in question.

What I propose is, that you should form yourselves into societies, so as to secure united action. This is most important, because you will then be able to fill a ship by yourselves, and thus keep out of the company of the diseased and filthy emigrants who come to this country to die in the large cities where they land. I assure you it is awful to witness the scenes that at times are enacted; and as I came as one of yourselves—an emigrant—I know what I suffered. I have seen the Irish taken to the hospitals by scores, and I have seen the vermin creeping upon them in a most disgusting manner. This is what you have to avoid if you value your lives and comfort. This is what you can avoid by united action.

In every town and village you should assemble, appoint your officers, and begin to scrape together the money somehow or other. Those who have £100 or £200 will find it to their advantage to pay the passage money of labourers, and philanthropists cannot better bestow their generosity than by aiding the industrious. I should judge that £5 or £6 per head would clear emigrants from Liverpool to Wisconsin; though of course I cannot tell what the prices may now be for a passage across the Atlantic. As next spring will be soon enough now to arrive here, I will send you all particulars that may be necessary, with full instructions as to how to make yourselves more comfortable on the passage, &c.; that is, if you determine to come in collected bodies. Whatever you determine, I am willing to assist you in so far as I am able, my object being to do what I can for you to save your money and keep you out of difficulty. I know that it will go hard with some to break asunder the ties of home and their native land. I have felt what that was; but you have to determine between two things—one to leave the country where you have no hope but to linger along from year to year without prospect of advancement, without proper remuneration for your toils, perhaps without being above half supplied with food and clothes; the other, by bold, manly, and decisive conduct to come over here, where you will have everything that, as a moderate man, you can wish for. The drunkard and idler may stay at home. They are not wanted. Do not admit them amongst you, unless they reform. The steady men are the sort of people for emigrants; those who are married, those who have large families. A family here is a fortune. And ye daughters, who have grown past the sweet nineteen; ye who are fast advancing to the state of, what shall I say? old maids—well, be it so, these can have husbands and happiness yet. So, "Come over the sea," with your brothers, and relatives, and friends, and help to keep tidy the houses of the farmers of the North-west. You shall hear more from me on some future occasion, and, meanwhile, believe me yours,
J. J. MADDISON.

PERSONAL NEWS AND GOSSIP.

The Court is still at the Isle of Wight, enjoying a little repose not before it was needed, after the fatigues of this tremendous London season. Good gossip rumour tells a pretty story, showing how the example which Queen Victoria has shown her aristocratic subjects in May Fair, of punctually paying her bills, has produced a wonderful effect; and the same authority asserts, what every west-end tradesman will be glad to verify, that it "is now considered an evidence of the highest ton to follow the example of the Court in putting an end to the system of indefinite accounts; and so desirous are the aristocracy to second the wishes of her Majesty in this respect, that in many of the establishments of the nobility and gentry similar directions are given."

The Duchess of Kent returned to Frogmore from Osborne House on Wednesday.

Lord John Russell left town for the Isle of Wight on Thursday.

Earl Nelson laid the first stone of the new church of St. Matthias, Stoke Newington, on Thursday, with much ceremony and suitable solemnities, religious and festive.

Lord Blomfield, our Minister at Berlin, was presented to the Queen by Mr. Manteuffel on the 24th.

Lord Cowley, the British Ambassador, left Frankfort on the 22nd, for London. He has promised to return to his post in about four weeks.

Sir George Grey has offered a reward of £100 for the conviction of the men who invaded Mr. Farr's brickfield at Rushmore.

The report that Cardinal Wiseman was going to Limerick, though emanating from a respectable authority, is without foundation. Cardinal Wiseman has not left town.

The *Morning Herald* states that the Reverend W. Hutchisson, of the parish of St. Eudellin, near Wadebridge, Cornwall, in the diocese of Exeter, has relinquished the Protestant for the Roman Catholic faith.

The *Limerick Chronicle* announces that Sir Vere De Vere, Bart., and Lady De Vere, of Curragh Chase, in this county, have embraced the Roman Catholic religion.

Mr. Gladstone's *Letters to Lord Aberdeen* have been published in the *Risorgimento* of Turin; a notice of them also appeared in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, a Leipzig journal, which was instantly seized and confiscated by the police.

It is rumoured in Bombay that Sir Lawrence Peel will retire in next cold season, and that he will be succeeded as chief justice by Sir J. Colville.

Llewellyn's divorce bill has been thrown out of the Lords.

A clerical election-contest took place on Tuesday for the rectorship of St. Ann's Blackfriars—the Reverend Mr. Webster, of King's College, beating his opponent, the Reverend Mr. Wilkinson, of the Irish Church Missions, by 159 to 139.

Mr. Richard Swift, of Hatton-garden, was elected Sheriff of the city of London on Monday, in the place of Mr. Hartley, who declined to serve. There was no opposition; but, as Mr. Swift is a Catholic, some bigoted individual shouted "You might as well propose Cardinal Wiseman"—an ill-natured exclamation, which was immediately stifled with "loud cheers."

Captain Melville, Fifty-second N.I., has invalided, and is, it is reported, about to join the *Calcutta Englishman* as one of its editors. He was one of the Afghan captives, and published a capital account of the events of those days under the signature of "A Quondam Captain," in the paper of which he is now about to assume joint editorship.

Terence Bellew M'Manus, whose escape from Van Diemen's-Land we have before mentioned, arrived at San Francisco on the 5th of June. The Mayor gave him a public dinner; the senators and representatives attended. M'Manus looked in capital health and spirits. When he escaped, O'Brien, O'Donoghue, and Doherty were likewise to have got off; but some one peached, and they were secured.

The Queen of Spain attended at the Church of our Lady of Atoche on Sunday, to "pray for her safe delivery."

The Duchess of Coburg left for Ostend on Wednesday.

The King and Queen of Prussia left Berlin on the 25th on a tour through the Baltic provinces.

General La Hitte is appointed president of the committee of artillery, vice General Pailhion, retired.

The Duke of San Paolo, chargé des affaires of the King of Naples, went to Rome last week.

The Court of Appeal, reversing the decision of the court below, have acquitted M. Cabet of the charge of swindling and embezzlement, in the fullest manner.

General Guillaumont, commanding the second division of the army of Paris, is appointed to the command of the fourteenth military division, whose head-quarters are at Nantes, vice General Gerard, retired.

M. von Bodelschwingh was gazetted to the Ministry of Finance on the 25th.

THE EXPOSITION.

The attendance at the Crystal Palace has been at the usual average this week. Great preparations were made for the expected darkness during the eclipse, which did not occur. One of the stone fountains fell down during the week, and also some of the fittings of the mediæval room gave way, doing damage to the extent of about £100. The price for season-tickets is reduced from £3 and £2 to 30s. and £1., and the Commission have come to a resolution by which the sale of those tickets ceases on the 31st of August. The 5s. entrance fee on Saturdays is to be reduced immediately after the prorogation of Parliament to 2s. 6d.

How anxious Russia is, upon every opportunity, to injure and insult, in her indomitable hatred, the Polish nation, will be seen by the following fact, given in a letter from Warsaw, smuggled over the frontier:—"When all the nations of the world were invited by Great Britain to send in their contributions for the great Exhibition, the Russian government graciously allowed the Peoples, groaning under its despotic sway, likewise to take a part in that industrial congress to which Great Britain had invited all nations, without distinction. But in granting such permission to his subjects, the autocrat made it imperative upon Poland's exhibitors, to send the articles they intended to exhibit, within four weeks from the day the ukase reached them, to St. Petersburg; and after that period no one was to be allowed to add any thing, nor would new exhibitors' articles be admitted."

The effect of this arbitrary proceeding was, that scarcely anything worth exhibiting could have been forwarded; in fact, nothing could have been expressly prepared for the Exhibition.

Thus it is that the Crystal Palace can show nothing indicative of the true state of the industry or the progress of arts in Poland; but that is precisely the object Russia had, viz., to cast Poland, even in this respect, into the shade, and to lessen her in the eyes of other nations. Russia did not like the attention of the English and other foreign visitors, to be drawn from her malachites and furs, to things, certainly not so costly, but more useful and artistic.

It is erroneously stated by some of our contemporaries, amongst others by the *Weekly Times*, that the calculating machine, which created lately some sensation, and is exhibited amongst the Russian productions, is the invention of Mr. Staffl, who was but its manufacturer. The inventor is M. Stern, of Warsaw, belonging to the Israelite tribe, who, for that invention, was elected member of the society of the *Friends of Sciences in Warsaw*; a society which, like many other useful institutions, was, after the revolution of 1830-31, dissolved by the imperative will of the northern Colossus.

ATROCIOUS MURDER IN PARIS.

The Parisian police arrested, on Sunday, the young man who murdered a girl named Juliette Flame in a public-house in the Rue du Cherche-Midi. His name is Joseph Humblot, his age 19, and his occupation that of a waiter in a coffee-house. The arrest was effected at 110, Rue St. Honoré, in the residence of a concierge, who is a friend of his mother. He readily answered the question put to him, and made this statement:—"I know," he said, "I have committed a horrible murder, and know the fate that awaits me. But I am not a monster—I was distracted—I had an attack of brain

fever. During eight months," he continued, "I had intimate relations with Juliette; I loved her passionately, but at last I fancied I perceived she deceived me. I do not know whether I was right or wrong, but a violent jealousy took possession of me, and I resolved to kill her first, and myself afterwards. I was under the influence of these ideas when I met her on Wednesday. We went into the public-house, and ascended to a bedroom. A bottle of wine was brought us, and Juliette seated herself on the bed. It was nearly nine o'clock, and vertigo seized me. I passed my hand over her throat, which appeared to surprise her; but before she had time to make any observation I seized a razor which I had for some time carried in my pocket, and, in one cut, made a severe wound in the throat. Poor wretch! She had only time to cry 'Mother! Mother!' when she fell dead. I was troubled, and for a few moments knew not what I did. But at last I recovered my self-possession. I washed the blood from my hands and face. I opened the door; but when half way down the staircase, the idea of seeing her again recurred to me, and I went and kissed her for the last time. I hurried away. I went to the river and washed my trousers. Afterwards I went home, and said to my father and mother, 'Kiss me, for you will see me no more; I am a great criminal, and deserve the scaffold!' In their stupor they did not think of stopping me. I went out of Paris, and slept in a lodging-house at one of the barriers. In the morning I was agitated, and did not know where to go. So I resolved to commit suicide. But before doing I determined to try to see Juliette once again. I went to the Morgue, where I thought her body would be taken; but I arrived too late—she had been recognized by her mother, and the body had been removed. I listened to what was said in the crowd. 'A young girl has been murdered,' they said, 'and the murderer afterwards threw the body into the river.' I shrugged my shoulders and went away. I went to a church, with the intention of confessing to a priest; but not finding one, I wandered about the streets for some time, and at last left Paris. I only returned this morning. And now I have only to request that I may be condemned to death. My repentance and my chastisement will open to me the gates of heaven, and it is there alone that I can hope to see Juliette again." The statement was made with the greatest calmness. The prisoner had on a shirt stained with the blood of his victim. The expression of his features is remarkably mild. He had procured himself a passport for a foreign country.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Parliament, it is understood, will be prorogued on the 8th instant.

The thoroughfare of Blackfriars' bridge is now stopped, except for foot-passengers, in order that the crown of one of the arches may undergo repair.

The Archaeological Society of Great Britain and Ireland met at Bristol on the 29th ultimo.

Austria has contracted a loan with the house of Rothschild.

Letters from Madrid of the 26th ultimo state that the Senate had passed the bill for the Settlement of the Debt by 59 to 29.

The *Siecle* was seized on Tuesday for an article libelling the character of Louis Napoleon, and it is to be prosecuted for exciting hatred and contempt against the Government. The incriminated article relates to the private life of the President.

Accounts from Canada, of the date July 14, state that the Toronto Board of Trade have censured the Council, by a vote of fourteen to two, for memorializing the Government to impose differential duties upon American manufactures.

A man, who had lost his all in the great fire at San Francisco, shot his wife, and then himself, with a revolver, in a moment of phrensy, during the fire.

On June 16, a Sydney man, named John Jenkins, alias Simpton, was detected in carrying off a safe from an office on Long-wharf, San Francisco, and after a struggle was arrested in his boat. He was immediately taken before the Committee of Safety, consisting of one or two hundred citizens, tried, found guilty, and hung within an hour.

Mrs. Ellen Blake, wife of the gentleman killed on the Midland Railway, near Clay-cross, has obtained £4000 damages from a jury, as compensation for her financial losses by the death of her husband. The case was one of great hardship: Mr. Blake having died intestate, his property went to his brother-in-law.

The French fêtes in honour of the Royal Commissioners of the Great Exposition commence to-day. The Lord Mayor of London left town yesterday. He will have apartments in the Hôtel de Ville. Paris will be very gay.

A deputation of fifteen working-men from Paris have been in London for some time, on a visit to the Exposition. Their captain is M. Larchet, formerly a compositor on *La Presse*, now a contributor to that journal. Alexis Soyer, of the Symposium, gave them an excellent dinner on Saturday, which concluded English fashion—with toasts and speech-making. Of course the "Health of the Queen and Prince Albert was drunk with enthusiasm by the Republicans;" whereas great is the wonderment, as if the drinkers were not Frenchmen as well as Republicans!

The *Advocate* of St. Helena tells a strange story of the seizure of a sea captain by a land captain on the high seas, and the confinement of said sea captain in the hold till the vessel reached St. Helena, on the 29th of May. The ship was the *Levenside*, carrying a detachment of an Artillery corps. The captains were, Campbell, master of the barque, and Vesey, commander of the soldiers. There was a quarrel about shutting down a hatchway. Captain Campbell is said to have threatened to shoot Captain Vesey, whereupon the latter ordered his men to fall in, to arrest Campbell, and confine him in the hold. He was kept there, and given up to the police on the charge of intent to murder Vesey, and committed for

trial. Afterwards Campbell laid an information against Vesey for piracy, which it is said the magistrates refused to take. Of course an inquiry will be ordered.

The York Catholic Association met on Wednesday and passed an address severely commenting on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill; denying that any aggression had been made; denouncing "persecuting liberals," "intolerant rationalism," and the "Whig press;" and calling on the Catholic electors to organize and agitate in self-defence.

The South Church Union, at its annual meeting in the Town-hall of Brighton on Thursday, resolved that the revival of synodical action was a cause of "sincere congratulation for the Church"; and in the event of Convocation being summoned deprecating the idea of "any lay element deliberating or deciding upon questions even indirectly affecting doctrine, without the prior restoration of that godly discipline contemplated by the Church in all her canons and services."

A claim has been filed in the Vice-Chancellor Lord Cranworth's court, for an inquiry into the will of Ann Tucker, who died in Westminster some time ago, and left one half of her property to various Roman Catholic priests, and one half to her brother in law and sister. These persons caused the claim to be filed for inquiry, and the case was heard on Monday. The ground upon which inquiry was sought was that suspicion was entertained that there was some "secret trust," that the money was intended not for the benefit of the said ecclesiastics, but for "superstitious uses." Lord Cranworth refused to make an order.

The contest at Limerick between Lord Arundel and Surrey and Mr. Russell will be hot and close. Lord Arundel arrived in Limerick on Tuesday, and was met at the terminus by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Limerick and a host of friends. On stepping from the carriage, he knelt and received the Bishop's blessing. The crowd was so dense and so enthusiastic, that the procession which formed could scarcely make its way to Lord Arundel's committee-room. At night, men ran about the streets with blazing tar-barrels. The excitement has since continued, and increased every day. The contest is alleged to have been described by a Roman Catholic priest as "a struggle between God and Lucifer—between Heaven and the pit of Hell." Mr. Monell, M.P., is also at Limerick, assisting Lord Arundel. The Roman Catholic clergy have engaged warmly in the election. Both sides say they are certain of success; but the public excitement is all on the side of Lord Arundel, who most probably will carry the day.

A meeting in favour of Jewish Emancipation was held on Wednesday, at the National Hall, Holborn, Mr. D. W. Ruffy in the chair. Resolutions were agreed to in support of the above object.

A meeting of the Chancery Reform Association was held at Exeter-hall on Wednesday. Lord Erskine occupied the chair. The meeting was addressed by Sir De Lacy Evans, M.P., Mr. D. W. Harvey, Captain Soole, M.P., Captain Saumarez, and Mrs. Cobbett.

The ballast-heavers held a great meeting at Shadwell, on Wednesday, to receive a report from a deputation to Mr. Labouchere, urging upon him the necessity of passing a bill to relieve them from the intolerable system to which they are subjected, owing to the present system of employment.

A public meeting of the Anti-Clergy Reserve Association, convened in Toronto on July 9, was broken up by the interference of the opponents of the association, headed by several clergymen of the Established Church, who claimed a right to be heard, on the ground that the meeting was public. The excitement ran high, but as one was hurt.

We understand that the Fraternal Home in Turnmill-street, where so many Polish Hungarian refugees have been lodged, fed, and clothed, will close on the 14th of August. By far the greater proportion of the exiles—more than one hundred and forty—have either found employment, or have left for the Continent. Some further subscriptions are required to liquidate the liabilities of the committee. Mr. W. Brown still receives subscriptions.

The "League of Universal Brotherhood" held its fifth annual meeting on Wednesday, at the London Tavern. The attendance was very numerous. In the midst of the proceedings the Paris deputation of workmen entered, and were warmly received. The meeting was addressed by the Chairman, Mr. Charles Gilpin; Mr. T. Beggs; the Reverend Dr. Burns; Mr. Ellen Burritt; Mr. H. Vincent; and Mr. Joseph Sturge. Two foreigners, the Chevalier Leuciren, and M. Bout, co-editor of *L'Eclaireur*, also addressed the meeting.

The Suffolk Agricultural Association was formed some time ago for the attainment of the following objects:—1. The repeal of the malt-tax. 2. The alteration of the present unjust title system. 3. An equitable measure of tenant right. 4. A thorough revision of the present mode of managing the county expenditure. 5. The abolition of the game laws. The association met at Ipswich on Wednesday publicly, and a great many Financial Reformers attended. The speakers expressed strong feeling respecting the conduct of their leaders in promising a return to Protection, and then when an opportunity offered, as in the spring, declining the perilous honour of assuming office under Protectionist colours. There was a decided display of pluck among the Suffolk farmers, and Mr. Charles Lattimore and his Financial Reform notions were well received. The meeting reaffirmed the above objects.

Eight working-men have been found guilty of conspiracy to raise wages, at Stafford. We shall recur to this next week.

The assizes for the county of Tipperary have closed without a single case of highway robbery, murder, taking of arms, sending of threatening letters, or any agrarian

offence whatever. The same character may be attributed to Carlow.

John Yeo was sentenced to six months' imprisonment in a common gaol at Exeter, on Tuesday, by Mr. Justice Coleridge, for assaulting Charles Laxmore, a lunatic, of whom he had voluntarily taken charge, and otherwise ill-treating him, by keeping him chained in a cell made of wood, and not properly supplying him with warm clothing. He had been confined for thirteen years. Dr. Bucknall said, in evidence, that there was not the slightest necessity for violence or confinement, as Laxmore was quiet, inoffensive, and amiable.

The governor of the Cranbrook Union Workhouse; Thomas Vincent Hatherley, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment with hard labour, at the Maidstone assizes, for having seduced a pauper girl and administered drugs with a view to procure abortion. A clergyman was put into the box, who said that he had a high opinion of Hatherley, who had written to him on religious subjects. Baron Alderson refused to hear evidence which only showed that a man might commit the most atrocious offences under the mask of religion.

Two trials for criminal conversation took place on Wednesday, one at Maidstone, the other at Durham. In the former case the parties were a publican of 75, living at Greenwich, who had married a young wife of five-and-twenty. The offender in this case was a customer, and the criminal act which led to the trial was alleged to have taken place while Mr. Watson, the publican, was indulging in an after-dinner snooze. Mrs. Watson and her lover, Mr. Sellers, crept up stairs respectively to the bedroom of the sleeping victim. But his nap was of short duration. He went up stairs also, and found his wife and Mr. Sellers locked in his own bedroom. The verdict in this case was damages, £50.

The Durham case was simply disgusting in its origin and details. The parties were a drunken wife, a surgeon who seduced her, or whom she seduced—it was not clear which,—and a husband, unsuspecting and the victim of the extreme domestic infelicity. Under such circumstances, though giving a verdict for the husband, the jury very properly considered that it was no case for damages, as the prosecutor had gained rather than lost. The damages given were, therefore, merely nominal.

A return was printed by order of the House of Lords, on Tuesday, in reference to the Encumbered Estates Commission. It appears that the amount of encumbrances, as set forth in the petitions, which have been left unpaid in cases where the lands have been sold and the produce of the sales distributed by the commissioners, was set forth at £503,286 5s. 2d., and the amount paid over to the owners by the commissioners out of the proceeds of the sales after the discharge of the encumbrances was £7307 10s. 6d.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 10th of July, at Guildford-street, Russell-square, the wife of Thomas Wakley, Esq., F.R.C.S., of a son.

On the 20th, at Tarbat-house, Ross-shire, the Marchioness of Stafford, of a son.

On the 22nd, at Killane (Ireland), Mrs. Power, of Gurteen, of a daughter.

On the 23rd, at West Stafford, Dorset, the wife of John Floyer, Esq., M.P., of a son and heir.

On the 25th, at Golden-grove, S.W., the Viscountess Emlin, of a daughter.

On the 26th, at Parslow, Essex, the Honourable Mrs. Richard Denman, of a daughter.

On the 27th, at 107, Piccadilly, Baroness Mayer De Rothschild, of a daughter.

On the 29th, at Twyford Abbey, the residence of her mother, the wife of Edmund Burke Roche, Esq., M.P., of a son.

On the 29th, at Eaton-place, the Honourable Mrs. Parsons, of a daughter.

On the 30th, at Wilton-house, Salisbury, the Honourable Mrs. Sidney Herbert, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

On the 22nd of July, at Fighbright, Harry R. Ricardo, Esq., second son of Henry Ricardo, Esq., of Norwood, to Anna, eldest daughter of Henry Hasley, Esq., of Henley-park, Surrey.

On the 24th, at Kensington Church, General the Right Honourable Sir Frederick Adam, G.C.B., to Ann Lindsay, daughter of the late John Maberly, Esq.

On the 28th, at St. George's, Hanover-square, Douglas Baird, Esq., of Gloucester-hall, Dumfriesshire, to Charlotte, only daughter of Henry Acton, Esq., and grandniece of the late Sir John Edward Acton, Bart., of Aldenham-hall, Shropshire.

On the 29th, at St. George's Church, Hanover-square, by the Honourable and Venerable Henry Scott Stopford, Archdeacon of Leighlie, Michael Sutton, Esq., of Skeffington-hall, Leicester-shire, son of Sir Richard Sutton, Baronet, to Harriet Anne, daughter of the late William Fitzwilliam Burton, Esq., of Burton-hall, county of Carlow, Ireland.

On the 29th, at St. Mary's Bryanston-square, by the Reverend Henry Sander Eyr, James Robert, second son of Clayton Freeling, Esq., of Harley-street, to Elizabeth Annabella, eldest daughter of Walpole Eyr, Esq., of Bryanston-square.

DEATHS.

On the 19th of June, at Port of Spain, Trinidad, Charles Chiphase, Esq., Collector of Customs of that island, aged sixty-six.

On the 29th, at Baltimore, in the United States, T. D. Johnson, Esq., banker, brother-in-law of Madame Celeste, of the Adelphi Theatre.

On the 18th of July, at the Rectory of Waddington, near Lincoln, the Rev. C. J. Meredith, late Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, in his fifty-first year.

On the 19th, at Fentre, Carmarthenshire, Elizabeth Maria, wife of D. S. Davies, Esq., M.P., aged forty-five.

On the 21st, aged eighteen, Tempest Willoughby Skrimshire Green, youngest son of Rear-Admiral Sir Andrew P., and Lady Green, of James-street, St. James's-park.

On the 23d, at Enfield, Mary, the wife of the Earl of Lisburne.

On the 24th, in the eighty-second year of his age, Benjamin Parham, Esq., of Ashburn, father of the Judge of the County Courts of Worcestershire.

On the 26th, at his residence, No. 10, Gloucester-terrace, Regent's-park, Isabella Anne, Dowager Viscountess Hawarden, in her ninety-third year.

On the 26th, at Bilboa-park, near Eilon, Aberdeenshire, aged eighty-two, Margaret Auldjo, the last surviving daughter of John Auldjo, Esq., of Fortchuen, Kinross-shire, and of Aberdeen.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

Communications should always be legibly written, and on one side of the paper only. If long, it increases the difficulty of finding space for them.

All letters for the Editor should be addressed to 10, Wellington-street, Strand, London.

Postscript.

SATURDAY, August 2.

In the House of Lords yesterday, among a host of bills of minor importance, the Royal Assent was given by commission to the Ecclesiastical Titles Assumption Bill.

There now remains no measure of great political importance to be debated in Parliament, and consequently the business-proceedings of the House of Commons are all of the winding-up order. Yesterday, at the morning sitting, what was done was all of that character; the principle subject of debate being the Episcopal and Capitular Estates Management (No. 2) Bill. Great complaints were made that there was no time to fairly consider the measure; that it would be unjust to lessees of all descriptions of property to press the bill through without any opportunity being allowed duly to consider their interests. The principle of the bill was generally accepted, but objection to the details was almost universal. However, Ministers were resolved to carry their point, and a store of Treasury men were in readiness to out-vote the dis-entiments—first on the adjournment of the debate, and then on going into committee. The character of the debate was, therefore, that it was less a discussion of the merits of the bill than a match of tongue fence on the propriety of going on with it. We observed that the opposition comprises men of all opinions, from Sir Benjamin Hall to Colonel Siphthorp.

The House continued to sit without the usual adjournment, and Sir JOHN PAKINGTON, after some trouble in getting the orders of the day disposed of, moved:—

"That, in the opinion of this House, the British refiners of sugar should be permitted to refine in bond, and to enter their manufacture for home consumption, upon payment of the same duties as are levied upon refined sugar imported into this country."

The gist of his argument was, that the reduction of the differential duty in favour of the British Government constituted a case of hardship from which, conformably to the principles of Free-trade, he ought to be relieved. Mr. LABOUCHERE opposed the motion, stating that the real objection to the change was the difficulty of checking so complicated a process, and preventing fraud, without a system of vexatious restrictions, which would occasion a great practical inconvenience to the trade. Mr. MITCHELL was speaking, when, forty members not being present, the House was counted out at a quarter to nine o'clock.

The French, unable any longer to tolerate the feeble, dis-creditable, and ferocious Government of the Papacy, have intimated that they must take steps for the better government of the people. To this the Pope retorts that he shall then go to Naples, and do all he can to influence the elections in France through the priesthood.

The following twenty-five members of the Legislative Assembly were elected on Thursday to form the Commission of Permanence during the vacation:—Didier, General Charnier, Dufougerais, Sauvaire Barthélemy, De Montigny, Berryer, Vitet, Poujoulat, De Melun, Passy, Druet-Desvaux, D'Olivier, Gouin, Bernardi, De Montebello, Bocher, De La Tourette, Admiral Cecilie, Rullière, Hubert, De Lisle, Boinvilliers, De Kermarec, De Bar, Grouchy, and De Mortemart.

Count von Kiemannsegg, the Hanoverian general, has died at Linden, aged 83. He was born at Ratzebourg, in the duchy of Lauenburgh, in the year 1768, entered the army in 1793, and served against the French at Niuport, in Holland, at Hamburgh, at Quatre Bras, and Waterloo, where he commanded a brigade.

Limerick, it turns out, will not be blessed with a contested election after all. As Lord Arundel was proceeding in his canvass down William-street he was waited on by a deputation authorized to announce the resignation of Mr. Russell. Being attended by the Roman Catholic clergy and a great mob of people, an immense shout was raised; and Lord Arundel declared that he should commence his canvass in order that he might make the acquaintance of the electors of Limerick. At the committee meeting in the evening doubts were suggested as to whether the resignation was a *ruse* in order to throw the "Surreyites" off their guard. But Lord Arundel's solicitor declared that to be impossible, as everything was cleared for action. A curious colloquy took place:—

"Lord Arundel said he would be guided by the committee."

"Mr. Murphy: I know your lordship is fatigued, as you have suffered much physical hardship."

"Lord Arundel: I don't mind what physical hardship I have endured, especially when I see around me gentlemen who have also suffered with me."

"The crowds assembled in the streets here became impatient, and there were loud cries for Lord Arundel."

"Reverend Mr. Quade, P.P., Callaghan's Mills, recom-

mended that his lordship would address a few words to the people, in order to let the world see that the 'City of the Violated Treaty' contained within its walls a Roman Catholic population able to hurl defiance at Lord John Russell, who had menaced to prostrate and fetter the bishops and clergy of that faith."

"Lord Arundel: I assure you, in his private capacity, Lord John Russell is not to be censured."

"Reverend Mr. Quade: I have nothing to say to his private character, my lord; but I can deal with him as a public man, and I denounce him as an enemy to Ireland—an enemy to the religion of the Roman Catholics of this country. (Hear, hear.)"

Lord Arundel did address the people, recommending them to meet the next day in "might, and strength, and numbers," in case of accidents; and also urging all parties to put away all "ill-will and animosity," "be friends," and "forget what had occurred."

In the evening bodies of women paraded the streets, clad in green, and the never-failing tar barrels in a blaze were borne about the streets. Mr. Russell's committee "struck their colours," and fairly gave in. The reasons assigned by him for his resignation are, the nearness of a general election, the continuance of "religious excitement," which had risen so high as to "peril the free exercise of the franchise," the unpleasant and grievous thing it would be to "divide Catholic against Catholic," and to encourage the "revival of sectarian feelings," which would undo so much good; he implies that his failure has arisen from the fact that the contest was generally viewed as one of an entirely religious character, and that the electors felt called upon to choose Lord Arundel by way of defiance to the Whigs. By this time, therefore, as the nomination took place yesterday, Lord Arundel is member for Limerick.

A letter in the *Times* of yesterday points out what the writer calls the "dust-heap of all nations," namely, the piece of ground at the east-end of the Crystal Palace. We agree with him that it is a "nuisance." How the Commissioners could have allowed its long continuance in so disgraceful a state we cannot conceive. What is the pink of park keepers—the persecutor of Ann Hicks, and the advocate of the Kensington ride, Lord Seymour, about? Surely, it is a case for his reformed intervention.

Mr. Joseph Brotherton, M.P., presided over a soirée of the Vegetarian Society at the Freemasons' Tavern, yesterday. The company numbered upwards of 300 persons, the great majority of whom were vegetarians. An entertainment was provided consisting of savory pies, mushroom pies, parsley fritters, rice fritters, cheese-cakes, various kinds of fruits, tea, coffee, and iced water, and many other things not included in the diet of animal food.

The Hall of Commerce, Threadneedle-street, was last night occupied by a numerous party met to welcome Mr. George Thompson on his return home, and to celebrate the anniversary of the emancipation of the West Indian negroes. Mr. William Wells Brown, a fugitive slave, was called to the chair. Of course, after tea, the usual speech-making process was carried on—greatly to the delight of the audience. Mr. George Thompson said some astounding things about America, which will please his Tory friends. He called America an "impious nation"—an "atheistical nation"—spoke of "perfidious republican sinners," and of the "leprosy of soul" of republicans. After intimating that he was "proud" of London, he exclaimed—"There would be a good moral lesson taught by that meeting. Such a meeting as that had yet to be held over the wide continent of America. It would startle the whole of America—from the banks of St. Louis to the banks of the Sacramento, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. But here, in the metropolis of England, midway between the Mansion-house and the Bank of England—in the Hall of Commerce—(cheers)—in the city of London—was held a free meeting, and presiding over that free meeting was a black man—(loud applause)—the insulted, the scorned, the hated, the hunted, of perfidious and guilty America. (Cheering.)"

Last night, between the hours of ten and eleven, a fire broke out in the manufacturing premises of Mr. White, mahogany timber merchant, Yardley-street, Clerkenwell. The building was of great extent, being between sixty and seventy feet long, and stretching about fifty feet in another direction towards the houses in Exmouth-street, Spa-fields. The lower portion of the building was fitted up with costly steam machinery for turning lathes and other purposes, whilst the floor above was filled with upwards of twenty lathes, many of them of great value. Some hundred pounds' worth of timber and brass were also piled away in the various compartments above. Before any one had time to carry the information to the fire-stations the glare of the flames had aroused the firemen, and forthwith the engines of the parish, London brigade, and West of England Company started in search of the fire, being guided solely by the light in the atmosphere. Upon reaching the scene, the entire range of manufacturing premises were in one general blaze. Plenty of water having been obtained, the engines were set to work, and the flames, by half-past twelve o'clock, were so far subdued, that no further extension of mischief was apprehended. The premises, however, were by that period nearly gutted, and considerable damage done to adjoining buildings. The origin of the fire is unknown, and, unfortunately, the sufferer was only partially insured.

Several wild-beast fights took place in the circus at Aranjuez, on the 25th ult. The Queen-Mother, the King-Consort, the Duke of Rianzares and his children, were present in the royal box. A wolf was set upon by four dogs: he was not game, and was withdrawn. A hyena successfully resisted the attacks of four dogs, and a bear defied the efforts of thirteen dogs. The great event came off at last—a fight between a lion and a bull, terminating in the victory of the latter.

The Leader.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 2, 1851.

Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—Dr. ARNOLD.

ABSOLUTISM IN ITS PANIC.

THE "Order" now dominant in Europe is the sullen and bodiful lull that portends the rising gale of Revolution. You may have seen the leaden waste of waters heaving restlessly, as if for very rage and terror, swept, not stirred as yet by the gathering storm that scowls blood-red on the horizon. Dead, desolate is the silence of expectation; thunderous the calm. Such is the present hour of European tyrannies!

Reaction has exhausted itself. The cup of despotism is full even to overflowing. Fatigued, but unsated with proscriptions, massacres, vengeance, the "anointed" executioners seek in vain for fresh victims. But in the silence and the solitude they have created around them, and which they dignify by the name of "Order"—the religion of monarchies—they discern only the hirelings of every abomination, the panders of every vice, the instruments of all fraud and violence, the satellites of all oppression and corruption. Only—did we say? only to their darkened sight, open to none but spies, and to their ears, fatally closed save to the evidences of perjured informers. It is high time to lift the veil that conceals an implacable future from the eyes of crowned and titled conspirators against the freedom, the peace, the happiness, the civilization of mankind. It is high time to startle thrones from their ghastly sleep, and to bid them remember, that for the Peoples also there must be an awakening! It is high time that allies of the Powers that be, should be told without reserve, in language unmistakable, upon what a mine their impotent and execrated violence reposes—a mine only waiting to be sprung. Already from St. Petersburg to Rome, the note of alarm is sounded: the more far-sighted ministers of the "Paternal Governments" are seized with the sudden panic of a city, which, after one shock of an earthquake, stands in hourly expectation of a second. What a touching unanimity of the Northern Potentates! How pleasant the "accidental" visits of Berlin to Warsaw, of Vienna to Berlin! How edifying the accord of pope, patriarch, and infidel! Frederic and Voltaire shaking hands with right Divine and Infallibility! Consider the holy cause of which these new crusaders of the nineteenth century are the leagued champions. The cause of property, family, religion! The ceaseless refrain wafted to the four winds of heaven by the echoes of reactionary terrorism. Who are the champions of the rights of property? Ask the manes of the slaughtered nobles of Galicia; or, if they reply not, interrogate the ravagers, the confiscators of Hungary. Who are the protectors of the sacred institution of "the Family"? The orphans of Brescia cry out their names; or, if they be silent, the very coalwhippers and draymen of London will point out the human tiger, whom the taste of blood could madden, but never appease. Who is the anointed champion of religion? Who but the perjured King of happy Naples, the confidential, intimate adviser of "his Holiness," of whom Mr. Gladstone says he is "reputed to be most regular and strict in the offices of religion." "These be thy heroes, O great party of order! apt representatives of the sacred cause of property, family, religion!"

Italy is now the "little cloud" on the political horizon, to which the glasses of all the grey-beards of despotism, and of all the neophytes of reaction, are anxiously pointed. And well they may. Some time since we mentioned the existence of a certain "confidential" note addressed by the Papal Government to the Cabinet of Austria, in which the prospective union of the Absolutist Governments against France and Piedmont, in the event of the probable contingencies of '52, was distinctly planned. This confidential document, like many other strict diplomatic secrets, was speedily made public, and, as may be supposed, aroused the

most serious susceptibilities of the French Government. Its authenticity was officially denied at Rome and at Vienna in the most peremptory form. The "enfant terrible" was severely rebuked by his parents for a revelation so ill-timed! But as denial and especially official denial, is not disproof: and, as facts have since confirmed more strongly than official gazettes can deny, the cordial, or rather secret, relations of the Papal Government with Austria, and the recommencement of a terrorism, of which the proclamation of the renewed severities of the state of siege at Milan by Radetzky, is but a faint and early symptom; and, as even the Prussian press has denounced the conspiracy of Rome and Austria, and their mutual distrust of France we may be allowed, notwithstanding the official gazettes of Vienna and the Vatican, and the officious falsehoods of the ultramontane organs at Paris, to persist in treating this document as authentic, which they are so busy to declare apocryphal. Let us glance at this note for a moment. It begins by describing France as exposed to fresh political disorders, "of a nature to compromise the peace and security of the whole of Europe." It apprehends a catastrophe of law, order, and Government, and a possible triumph of the revolutionary party. It speaks bitterly of the danger of relying on the attitude of French troops as a protection to "his Holiness," in the event of a change of Government at Paris. It speaks of the "imperial necessity which compelled his Holiness" to accept French troops, and of the unhappy suspicions and presentiments which their prolonged occupation has aroused in the mind of the Pope: whose firmness of character has been often tasked to preserve the independence of his own authority from the arrogant pretensions of his preservers. It cannot contemplate without horror the probable position of the Government of "his Holiness" in the event of any change in the direction of French policy, consequent upon a Republican solution, whether peaceful or violent, of the questions of '52: it treats Louis Napoleon as a mere puppet in the hands of the Royalist and priestly factions, as a mere *mannequin*, who may cheat, but not arrest, Democracy; and, in the mean time, a safe and easy tool. It then makes the piteous confession that the "great majority of the Roman People" are radically corrupted, inert, and incapable to offer the Papal Government the least aid; and that all attempts to revive a public spirit, and to reorganize a national force sufficient to provide for the security of the capital, have been utterly fruitless. That the ideas and feelings of the People have been so radically perverted by the doctrines which prevailed under the "usurping Government," and by the revolutionary propaganda kept up since by the "Soi-disant National Italian Committee" in London; that in the very heart of his own capital his Holiness would be exposed to all the fury of his own People, if deserted or unaided by foreign troops. But, adds the note, not without a naïveté almost affecting, "it is far more easy to enumerate dangers than to point out the means of prevention;" and then follows the key to all the recent Papal-Austrian, and Austrian-Neapolitan manoeuvres.

It suggests the withdrawal from the Roman States of the French troops, and their immediate replacement by Austrian forces, as the "Papal Government has none of its own to trust to." Or if contrary to all reason and right, France should refuse to acquiesce in this arrangement, then at least Rome should be garrisoned by Neapolitan troops: for are they not Italian? The note suggests strong diplomatic representations in this sense to the Cabinets of France and England. In case of their positive refusal, it says, an Austrian and Neapolitan army should march suddenly upon Rome on the eve of any changes in France, and cut off the retreat of the French troops on Civita Vecchia; or force them to abandon the capital. If this scheme were effected with prudence, celerity, and determination, the Papal Government is assured it would meet with complete success, and in no way entail any grave political consequences! "For one of two things must happen in France; either the present Government will survive the struggle, and remain at the head of affairs under some form or other, or the revolution will triumph. In the first case, the Papal Government will find explanations easy; in the second, it would have taken the most urgent and summary measures for its own safety in the midst of the general wreck of Italy!"

The note concludes with entreating the Cabinet of Vienna to urge incessantly on the Government of England, and on influential members of the

English Parliament, the absolute necessity of expelling the Italian refugees, following the wholesome example of France and Switzerland—"both republics!"

"The information," concludes this famous note, "we receive, and which we have reason to deem exact, assures us that a vast conspiracy embraces a large portion of the European continent, and that the loan recently opened at London is in great part realized, independently of an Italian and foreign subscription, which it is endeavoured to keep secret." His Holiness, it is known, recently paid a visit to his "Sacred majesty" of Naples, at Castel Gandolfo, to concert on ulterior measures. He returned to his beloved and loving people on the fifteenth of this month. The result of the visit is a fresh proposal that his Majesty of Naples should lend his Holiness of Rome 12,000 Swiss mercenaries to be replaced at Naples by 12,000 Croats—the heroes of Brescia! Respecting this recent trip, it is generally understood that the Pope would have once more made his escape from his beloved people for good and all, taking refuge with that most religious monarch of Naples, had he not been most jealously watched and guarded by an escort of French troops, who consider him as their particular and exclusive property. "Save me from my friends," exclaims the Pope. But the Pope is the pet of the French just now, and they cannot spare him to Naples or to Austria, at any price.

Now, mark well the abject fear the petty inscience, the truckling flattery to Austria, the lying perversion of facts, the degrading appeal to the experienced treacheries of our foreign policy, and, above all, the important confessions of the actual state of Italy and Europe, which pierce through the reticence, the mystifications, the circumlocutions of this miserable "note." Compare its description of the spirit of the Roman people, and of the impossibility of organizing a Papal army, with the impudent falsehoods of the French diplomacy; with the assertions of De Falloux, of Montalambert, of Odilon Barrot, of—that we are compelled to write the name!—de Tocqueville! Is this the Pope who described as a father restored to his children; rescuing the Eternal City from a horde of spoilers and adventurers? Is this the picture of a reformed and liberal Government, of a happy and contented people?

It is time to strip off all masks from consecrated impostures and anointed terrorisms. It is time to declare that the ground is crumbling beneath your feet.

Three governments coexist at Rome: the French, the Papal, the *Invisible*. Which of the three has the right on its side all Europe knows; which has the power, even now, let Antonelli say. You denounce the "radical corruption of the Roman People." You know this to be false. It is the Government of Rome, as of Naples, that is radically corrupt. It is the Government itself that sets the example of illegality, fraud, violence, sanguinary terrorism. All that Mr. Gladstone has so nobly asserted of Naples is equally true of Rome. Who are the creatures of your boasted Government? Neither in any civil nor in any military function can you find an honest man to serve. From the Ministers of State to your lowest *shirri*, you are forced to employ "the wretches who are ready to sell the life and liberty of fellow-subjects for gold, and to throw their own souls into the bargain." Galley-slaves and convicts are your instruments of law, order, and police.

You murder with more or less of judicial formality, you exile, you imprison, you scourge men and women; you make assassination a reprisal of the knife for the axe, of the dagger for the musket. You seek to pervert by your exasperations the moral sense of a whole people, and to rend asunder all civil and social ties; you carry desolation into the heart of honourable families; you prosecute men of unblemished reputation on fabricated charges and suborned perjuries; and if all pretext of accusation fail, you denounce their love of country, and you punish their secret aspirations. You visit the best artisans with interdictions the most vexatious; you forbid them to speak to "suspected persons"; to leave their houses after sunset; to receive friends. You make Rome a desert, if not a living tomb. The foreign troops have no sooner sounded the retreat than all shops are closed, and no step, save the measured tread of the sentries and the *shirri* is heard in the streets. Every hour of the day innocent persons, heavily chained, are being dragged to prison on some frivolous suspicion; and if we take refuge beyond the walls from scenes so repulsive and so odious, we are

continually arrested by waggons full of wretched political *detenuti* on their passage to new dungeons; for the dungeons of Rome are long since surfeited.

And this ruin, this silence, this desolation you call order; and your official journals cry, "O happy Rome! if you knew but the privilege of being the City of the Pope!" And what was the address of the benevolent Pius to the municipality of Albano the other day? "I know well there has been some chattering about my visit to the King of the Two Sicilies; but what matter, we have troops enough: 'da far ballar tutti sopra un quarzino.'" The benevolent Pius! But the mine is yawning beneath your feet. You speak of a secret organization, a conspiracy at your very doors. Most true! In Rome itself, where you cannot find even the nucleus of an army, are 70,000 volunteers enlisted, regimented for the service of the Roman Republic. Your Police are not your own; 200 of them at least, belong to the "Invisible Government." You stifle all free thought, all writing, all discussion, and you cannot prevent a flying sheet published anonymously being distributed by the Government Post-office and carried across the country by every diligence that travels. The *Gazette* of the Republic! dropped in the public thoroughfares, posted up on walls and houses, distributed by your agents, your police! Let a suspected stranger be committed to their care, with two hours' notice of arrest, and shall Antonelli touch him? Is not a mere slip of paper, *duly signed*, a passport from one extremity of the Roman States to the other? Will it not secure a seat by the side of the bearers of your despatches? Will it not gain admission to any gallery in Rome? The function of your police has absolutely ceased, so far as prevention is concerned. The "spying are spied." And the Republican army are not the Papal troops of Gregory. They do not forget that they have kept French troops at bay more obstinately than did once the Citadel of Antwerp; that 14,000 half-disciplined men defended an extent of wall which 150,000 men would barely cover. They do not forget the actions of the Villas, Vascello, Valentini, or Corsini; or how opposite the Porta China they repulsed Oudinot. They treasure up the memory of fortified posts stormed and taken from French troops at the point of the bayonet. They have learned to fight and die fighting; they have shaken off the trammels of ages of deadening superstitions, and are once more the old "Romana virtus," self-reliant, conscious of a country, and of a history.

Cross the frontier to Naples, and even there the functionaries do not carry out the instructions of the Government. Even there the Invisible Government is felt, and moves, and walks. Are not the Quarantine restrictions relaxed in certain cases? Is not trade with Corfu permitted, where at this moment some two thousand Neapolitans are skulking from the conscription? At Bari you may have found the brother of Garibaldi, *talking politics*, not long since, and no man laid a hand upon him.

And what of Sicily? The Neapolitan steam-fleet incessantly manœuvring; for the Sicilian insurrection is only scotched, not killed. Yet the Government of Naples employs, who knows not? all "salutary rigours" for its preservation. The passport system was never carried to so vexatious an excess. But revolution is in the air. From what sort of Government will revolution deliver Naples? Hear Mr. Gladstone:—

"There is a general impression that the organization of the Governments of Southern Italy is defective—that the administration of justice is tainted with corruption—that instances of abuse or cruelty among subordinate public functionaries are not uncommon, and that political offences are punished with severity, and with no great regard to the forms of justice.

"I advert to this vague supposition of a given state of things, for the purpose of stating that, had it been accurate, I should have spared myself this labour. The difference between the faintest outline that a moment's handling of the pencil sketches, and the deepest colouring of the most elaborately finished portrait, but feebly illustrates the relation of these vague suppositions to the actual truth of the Neapolitan case. It is not mere imperfection, nor corruption in low quarters, nor occasional severity, that I am about to describe; it is incessant, systematic, deliberate violation of the law, by the Power appointed to watch over and maintain it. It is such violation of human and written law as this, carried on for the purpose of violating every other law unwritten and eternal, human and divine; it is the wholesale persecution of virtue when united with intelligence, operating upon such a scale that entire classes may be said with truth to be its object, so that the Government is in bitter and cruel, as well as utterly illegal hostility to whatever in the nation really lives, and moves,

and forms the mainspring of practical progress and improvement; it is the awful profanation of public religion by its notorious alliance, in the governing powers, with every moral law, under the stimulants of fear and vengeance; it is the perfect prostitution of the judicial office which has made it, under veils only too threadbare and transparent, the degraded recipient of the vilest and clumsiest forgeries, got up wilfully and deliberately by the immediate advisers of the Crown, for the purpose of destroying the peace, the freedom, ay, and even if not by capital sentences, the life of men among the most virtuous, upright, intelligent, distinguished, and refined of the whole community: it is the savage and cowardly system of moral as well as in a lower degree of physical torture, through which the sentences extracted from the debased courts of justice are carried into effect."

We have already described the blessings of Papal and priestly Government at Rome. In Germany reaction has reached its extremest limits. In France the reaction of reaction is setting in steadily, but surely: and if the Republican party, by their faults and follies and incapacity, once endangered the principle, it has now been rendered inextinguishable by the perfidy, the treason, and the terrorism of Reactionists. In '52 M. Louis Napoleon would seem a ridiculous if he were not an impossible candidate for the Presidency, and the Revolution of '48 must resume its march to the conquest of Social ameliorations. We have seen by the examples of Rome and Naples how the "right divine" agrees with liberty of conscience: we know that it is the suppression of all liberty, according to the maxim, "The Monarch is only accountable to himself." We have heard enough of revolutionary terrorism; but even if we could forget the massacres which history records, the horrors committed since '48 by Monarchical reaction would drown all comparison, and compel the most servile and bigoted Absolutist to cease from declaiming against the Convention of '93. We heartily abhor and abjure all terrorisms, whether disguised under the name of liberty, or of order, or of religion; but we do say that, comparing the conduct of the Peoples when they had every capital of Europe in their power, with the conduct of the Powers who first cajoled, and then proscribed and massacred their subjects, it is not for Kings to pardon, but for the Peoples to forget! The Peoples do not conspire; they wait. Lord John Russell denounced a secret and well-spread conspiracy against Protestantism. Against Protestantism, no doubt, so far as it involves freedom of conscience: for all liberties are inseparable; but he should have added—against the Peoples; a conspiracy to discover, mislead, and prevent the hopes of '52. The agents of this conspiracy are to be found everywhere: you meet them in the most unexpected places. Lord Palmerston, who talks so glibly to the public ear, and is the darling of the "Liberal party" in the House of Commons, is the most conspicuous, and we fear the most successful of these agents of reaction. But we make bold to tell him that, though slaves may remain slaves without a pang, nations that have once tasted of freedom, can no more live without it. It is their life-breath and their heart's blood.

MRS. HICKS AND LORD SEYMOUR.

A BIRD which has settled for a long time in your garden, acquires not only a vested right in your apple-tree, but in your feelings. Even the swallow's nest is not beaten down from beneath the eaves of your country cottage upon a light pretext, much less in spite or revenge; and the robin is allowed to monopolize the watering-pot of the amateur, should he choose it for a dwelling-place, year after year—without molestation.

But, however such sentiments may dictate the conduct of most men, even towards "inferior" animals, a Whig Minister appears to be "above all that" in his relations with common humanity. We say common humanity, for Whigs are well known to have a tender predilection for those who are raised above the common herd. For instance, many a noble Lord derives his claim to broad acres from no higher source than Ann Hicks to her cottage in the Park—service rendered at need to royalty in trouble—and some specimens of the genus Lord might be named, whose possessions were obtained by serving the caprices and pandering to the vices of royal monsters, notably the Ministers of Henry VIII. The only difference between the case of Ann Hicks and the noblemen in question is simply this—that whereas they took good care to get title-deeds, her grandfather, less worldly-wise, got none.

What is the case of Ann Hicks? Her grandfather helped to save the life of George II., and as a reward was allowed to have a cake-stand in the Park. He kept it for sixty-nine years, and his son kept it for forty-nine years. When Ann Hicks came into possession of it, she asked permission to build a small cottage on the spot at her own expense, and Lord Lincoln complied with her request. For about seven years she held the lodge erected unmolested; but when it was resolved to erect the Crystal Palace in Hyde-park, a razzia was made upon all cake-stands, and Ann Hicks was served with a notice to quit. "Lord Seymour was prepared to recommend the Board to make an allowance to Mrs. Hicks for house-rent for a short period after her removal," provided she removed with a good grace and gave no trouble. She remonstrated in vain. The solicitors of the Board proceeded to eject her, and pulled the cottage down. Twelve months' lodging at five shillings a week was all they allowed her. She laid her case before the Queen, and was told for answer that her Majesty had so many claims on her bounty that she could not relieve Mrs. Hicks. Under these circumstances she got a basket and a few cakes, went to the Park to sell them, and was arrested.

"Hicks' pietatis honos? Sic nos in sceptra reponis?" A great deal of sympathy was excited, and money has been subscribed for her. And in the progress of the story we find two curious letters in the *Times*, signed "Incredulus," having all the air of officiality about them, redolent of red tapism and scepticism. In fact, they have all the characteristics of Lord Seymour's speeches. They are an attempt to blast the character of Lord Seymour's antagonist!

"Mrs. Hicks' case" next comes before the House of Commons. And how does Lord Seymour behave on that occasion? He represents Ann Hicks as a kind of mystical person who was suddenly found in the Park selling ginger-beer in 1843. He said not one word of her ancestor, or the service he had rendered to drowning royalty. He tried to make the House believe that Mrs. Hicks, by persecuting and boring the Commissioners, had obtained leave to change her stand of wood to a "hut" of "brick" (everybody else, my lord, called the cottage "stone"), and by stretching the liberty allowed her to "repair the roof," he further alleged that she had made a "fireplace and a chimney" she had bearded the Commissioners, and huddled off a piece of ground, and had made herself a terror to the "Park authorities," who trembled before her "noise and abuse." Lord Seymour gave no distinct contradiction to the allegations of Mrs. Hicks in the police court; he simply developed the idea started by "Incredulus," that of blackening the character of the woman.

Here is plenty of prosy injustice: why not have taken after the dose a little poetical justice? We see a way. On Tuesday Lord Seymour said:—

"As to any other cottage being erected in the Park, the only one he was aware of was the cottage proposed to be built by Prince Albert as a model cottage. When it was built, Lord Seymour said it could not be allowed to remain, and his Royal Highness said it should be taken down next November."

But why taken down? For retribution on the land commissioner, let him be compelled to maintain this cottage: let it be given to Mrs. Hicks for the rest of her days—Lord Seymour keeping it clean for her, Prince Albert and the young princes and princesses buying cakes at her stall; and so all live happy ever after.

THE "DAILY NEWS" ON ASSOCIATION.

IN welcoming the *Daily News* to the discussion of Socialism, the writer will permit us to explain some points on which his information is not yet complete. That he should discuss the subject at all we hold to be a public service, since the first thing to promote the principle is to make it rightly understood; and to that end we must have out the objectors. In this instance, we owe the service to Mr. William Coningham, whose lecture at St. Martin's-hall is the subject of comment. The writer draws a distinction between the Socialists of France and England:—

"In both countries there is indeed one common immediate object, a reconstitution and reconstruction of society, in all its various aspects, political, commercial, domestic, and religious; with this difference in intention and ultimate application, however, that our own enthusiasts aim at a restoration of what they deem a primitive state of Christianity; whilst their Continental allies never think of going back, but are resolutely bent on progress wherever it may lead to;

sure, they think, that it must better their plight. This divergence results, not from any essential diversity of principles as to why and how labour should be rendered cooperative, or should be organized, but more from the fact, that *our Socialists are Christians by education; theirs, Revolutionists by profession.*"

There is more than one error in this passage. To be accused of being an exclusive Christian sect will amuse a vast number of English Socialists, who have been accustomed to hear the name of Socialism used as almost synonymous with Infidelity. This originated with Mr. Robert Owen's mistake in making the abnegation of Religion a part of his system. In fact, however, neither Infidelity nor peculiar views of Christian revival are essential elements of Socialism, which is an economical question; and we can vouch for the fact that Socialists are now to be found in every religious sect, as they are to be found in every avocation, and in every class of society. Sectarianism has as little to do with Socialism as it has with the Stock Exchange, or with Political Economy. Indeed, the new doctrine is nothing more than a chapter added to Political Economy.

It is a mistake, too, to suppose that there is that distinction between the French and English Socialists, or that the French are peculiarly revolutionary in their tendency. The new fact is, that the Socialists are gradually transferring their attention from the ulterior consequences and more speculative parts of their doctrine, to the essential principle and its practical application; and in this process, so highly judicious and business-like, much more than in theological investigations, the English Socialists are engaged; their French brethren having set them the example.

Our contemporary is mistaken in supposing that the numbers of the Socialists in Paris have decreased; an inference which he draws, without grounds, from Mr. Coningham's lecture. If he will peruse that lecture in its more complete form, as we publish it this week, he will see that the particular examples cited by Mr. Coningham, are not selected for their numerousness, which was not in question. The enrolled organizations of Paris are now computed to be about one hundred in number, and they have been estimated to comprise about a third of the working population of Paris, the recruitments steadily proceeding.

The *Daily News* accounts Mr. Coningham's examples to illustrate "the beneficial results of Free-trade and the division of labour"—

"The most favourable specimen seems to be an association of picked men, who have subjugated all disorderly inclinations; who subject themselves to mutual control, discipline, and cooperation; who starved themselves and their families until they got together a little capital; and who, having acquired it, draw the most clear and distinct line between the value of their individual labour and the profits of their capital. For the worth of their separate and individual work each member is paid its actual value as estimated, not by internal, but by external standards of its value; and the workmen, being thus paid, the capitalists, in this case the same individuals, then divide the profits, taking care, as all other prudent capitalists do, to keep a reserve fund applicable to their business. Now, if this be Socialism, we are all Socialists. We had, however, thought that the first principle of Socialism was the abrogation of competition."

The fundamental principle of Socialism is *concert in the division of employments*, without which that division cannot attain its most productive power. As to competition, the mistake of the old economists was, that they took it for the only incentive to industry. Our contemporary will observe that the option of performing a greater or smaller share of work, where all have an equal opportunity, and where the success of one does not beat down another, is a totally different thing from the sort of competition that goes on in the English labour-market, where so many get excluded from work altogether, and where each purchases the opportunity by helping to beat down the return for all.

We need not pursue our contemporary's speculative apprehensions further. If he will continue his observation, he will perceive that the Socialists, whether of France or England, are not the men to abrogate "self-exertion," or individual free agency; although they are well aware that sound economy, practical morals, and human happiness, cannot exist without the fulfilment of the Christian precept, to "love one another," practically carried out by helping one another. Meanwhile, we hail the support offered in the following passage:—

"The elevation of working-men is far too serious a matter to be trifled with. Education and capital are its best friends; and to the latter the nearest route is

by the former. Every obstruction to the working-man becoming a capitalist is an injury to society; as such it ought to be removed, and all encouragement be given to him to become a capitalist. If cooperation will so assist him, by all means let it be promoted; if association, he has as much right to associate as the shareholders of a railway company, or the partners of a cotton-mill. Much, we agree with Mr. Coningham, may be done in a modification of the law of partnership by the removal of restrictions."

This is a good beginning: "Perge, puer!"

THE PENNY STAMP COMMITTEE.

THIS day 139 years ago saw the commencement of the most successful scheme ever concocted for the enslavement of the press. It was a truly English idea to put an excise stamp on the newspaper, so that the man who should refuse to wear the legal chain should be considered as a fraudulent debtor. By putting the press under the excise it was made at once to smell of the shop, and from this taint it has never yet freed itself. Under the pressure of taxation, Ithuriel himself could not conduct a newspaper without asking every week "How does it sell?" No wonder that the fourth estate is so often in league with the other three to oppress the people. The wonder is that it should ever do otherwise; and the fact that it has so often contended for truth and justice is a testimony to the truth and justice that lives in the hearts even of those who profit by things as they are, and meddle not with those who are given to change. Next week we shall publish the report of the committee appointed by the House of Commons to examine into the effects of the stamp. Unlike the ordinary legislative proceedings of the year, that report is clear, straightforward, and practical. After detailing abuses and anomalies (well known to our readers), both at the stamp-office and the post-office, it shows clearly that the law, however stringent on paper, is ill-defined in practice and utterly incapable of impartial enforcement. Turning to the postal question, it shows that the system of stamping papers not posted and that of reposting stamped papers are alike unfair; and recommends that the postage of newspapers should, for the future, be entrusted to the post-office, with the understanding that four ounces should be conveyed at a penny rate. It then goes on to deplore the effect of the stamp, which, it truly says "prohibits the existence of such newspapers as from their price and character would be suitable to the means and wants of the labouring classes." With a due regard to the rights of those who spend vast sums in obtaining news, it suggests a short copyright for their benefit; and it ends with a declaration that, "apart from fiscal considerations, your Committee do not consider that news is of itself a desirable subject of taxation."

This report has received the unqualified approbation of the leading journal in a long article published on Saturday last, in which it says:—

"A tax on news is nothing more or less than a tax on the use of the eyes and the ears, a tax on the employment of the mind, a tax on the improvement of the understanding, a tax on knowledge, a tax on events, a tax on our social existence, on our common interests, and our mutual sympathies. The Royal assent has just been given to the abolition of a tax on those useful apertures through which we admit the light of the sky, the vital air, and the sight of the world around us. What, indeed, could be said for a tax which operated as an inducement to sit in the dark, to stop ventilation, and to shut out the face of nature and of man? But only next to that is a tax which operates in precisely the same manner on the apertures of the mind."

After this, it is not too much to hope that the 1st of August, 1852, may give us a press free, at least, from the stamp. The freedom of the press will hallow still further a day already holy in the annals of England, as that of negro emancipation.

THE POLISH-HUNGARIAN EXILES.

PLEASURABLE feelings are excited within us when we reflect upon the noble and hospitable sentiments displayed by our countrymen, especially by the working-people, in favour of those victims of Continental despotism and the *laissez faire* system of our own diplomacy, the Polish-Hungarian refugees, who landed at Liverpool on the 1st of March last, from Turkey.

It was not necessary to have recourse to the inglorious stimulation of fancy fairs, or quadrille and polka parties, to arouse the sympathy of the British workmen. It was sufficient that they were appealed to; men whose life is made up of privations can alone comprehend need in others. An appeal was

made to their generosity, and it was nobly responded to by them. The men who craved assistance were men who had combated in a good cause, and who were suffering from want of food. No obstacles, no slander, however cunningly spread by the dancing philanthropists against the refugees, were capable of shaking the noble sympathy of our working-men, for in the sufferers they recognized their brothers. They hastened from all parts of the country to send in their painfully earned pence, to provide for the first pressing wants of the exiles; and not content with that they set about doing what philanthropy in white gloves never did: they exerted themselves to the best of their means to provide what is more valuable than pecuniary assistance—employment; and thus to furnish them with the means of acquiring an independent position by their own labour. Their noble exertions have been rewarded by perfect success; for a great majority of the 230 exiles, who resolved upon remaining in England, have got employment, and are thus earning their own living.

If the ultimate result of the Exhibition in the Crystal Palace be calculated to produce sympathy amongst nations divided by their crowned rulers, the Exhibition of noble feelings, dwelling in the hearts of our working-people, has anticipated that result, by tangibly showing that they understand what is meant by the fraternity of Peoples. Honour be to them! It is to them we are indebted for having shown that they too understood and cherished that sacred principle upon which the future salvation of Humanity depends.

In thus doing justice to our countrymen for having nobly sanctioned that grand principle, we are prompted by our love of Truth to say something about the private character of the exiles. They are all young men, sober, industrious, amiable, and of a rigorous morality. Many amongst them are highly gifted, and they, one and all, give the greatest satisfaction to their employers, and to those with whom they come in contact; and Liverpool, Manchester, Halifax, Bradford, Leeds, Birmingham, Bath, Sheffield, Newcastle-upon-Tyne—where committees *ad hoc* are formed, have testified to their good character. From Newcastle-upon-Tyne, for instance, Mr. Joseph Cowen, jun., thus writes to the central committee of the Polish Democratic Society:—

"... You will be as happy to learn, as I am to inform you, that the behaviour of your countrymen while with us, has been highly commendable. They have won the esteem and confidence of all with whom they have come in contact. A better, braver, nobler body of men, it was never my good fortune to know. The high and chivalrous spirit that animates them, has communicated itself to those with whom they have mingled; and I count on much good resulting to our cause in this locality, in consequence of their living amongst us."

We are thus happy to learn that all those who so nobly offered their protection to the victims of a generous sacrifice, have not only the sweet satisfaction of having accomplished a sacred duty towards their fellow-men, but moreover the consciousness of having imparted their sincere sympathy to worthy men.

But in doing justice to the working-men we must not forget that they are not alone. Literary men of the first rank, like Dr. Vaughan and Professor Newman, men whose high character and great abilities have won for them a lofty position in society, and who have nothing in common with white-gloved and dancing philanthropy, came forward nobly in the hour of need. Dr. Vaughan has repeatedly uttered words of the most hearty sympathy, as he did the other day at Manchester, for the cause of trampled Hungary and her noble sons. Honour to these men also!

WHAT IT MEANS.

THE fatal skirmish at Rusholme, near Manchester, between the brickmakers and the watchers of Mr. Farr, throws out into bold relief the strange relations of employer and employed. It will be called an "extreme case"! Granted. Extreme or extraordinary cases are needful, apparently to rouse attention to the subject. Extreme cases—tragic cases—are forcible indications of frightful disorganization. We do not defend the destructive; we do not attack the offending employer. We simply point to the fact—and ask what it means?

It means—not that the members of the Brickmakers' Trades' Union are a set of bloodthirsty, destructive, insubordinate men, or that Mr. Farr is a harsh, cruel, exacting employer—but it means that there is something wrong generally, in the relations of employer and employed, of which this affray is at once an alluring illustration and a tragic proof.

Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review*.

THE revelations of GLADSTONE'S pamphlet on Italy have startled the Party of Order, accustomed to treat all previous intimations of the frightful despotism of paternal Governments as the cry of "factions" and "misguided" men. But GLADSTONE'S name is a guarantee. No one will accuse him of republican tendencies; no one will accuse him of abetting anarchy; and, therefore, what he deliberately reports of Italy comes with terrible and damning force. In a little while we may expect to hear another influential voice on this subject. It is understood that SENIOR has been investigating it; we know not what may be the conclusions he has come to, but if any qualification he honestly possible it will come from him; meanwhile, we suppose we must wait for the pages of the *Edinburgh Review*.

Apropos of the *Edinburgh*, its last number is more varied than usual, and contains a learned critical paper on the *Greek texts of Scripture*, a good review of *Johnston's Notes on America*, a damaging review of *Dizon's Life of Penn*, an elaborate and thoughtful article on *Grot's History of Greece*, and an entertaining exposition of the progress and extent of *Modern Chemistry*, with some excellent remarks on *LIEBIG* and his school.

Academies are never popular bodies, and never will be free from corporate abuses. Our Royal Academy of Arts is certainly no exception to the rule. A circular of grievances, "addressed to the British Legislature," has been placed in our hands, the object of which is, by exhibiting the abuses, to call for "a thorough reform." We know of only one reform. When a poet brought his verses to MARTIAL, begging him to suggest any erasures that a fastidious taste might demand, the wit replied, "*una litura potest—*one erasure will suffice"! and of this kind is the reform needed by the Royal Academy, the Hothouse of Mediocrity. The complaints in this circular point to the dismal fact that eighty years ago, when there were scarcely one hundred artists in the country, the number of Academicians was forty; and now with upwards of a thousand exhibitors in London alone, the sacred forty still form the oligarchy. Is it really believed that an increase of Academicians would reform the Academy? *Les quarante qui ont de l'esprit comme quatre* are not to be so reformed, for the evil lies in the system, not in the number.

While touching on this subject let us not forget to call attention to *RUSKIN'S* forthcoming pamphlet on the *Præ-Raphaelites*. There has been so much angry discussion respecting the audacities of these young artists who set at defiance Academic proprieties and all the "traditions," that the pamphlet of a writer like the author of the *Modern Painters*—wilful, exaggerated, and contemptuous though he be—cannot fail to be interesting.

In the little churchyard of the German Chapel in Savoy-street, the remains of the lamented journalist *DR. JULIUS*, were last week deposited, in presence of many of the German exiles, who mourned a comrade and a champion. *DR. JULIUS* was editor of the *Berlin Zeitungshalle* during the Revolution of 1848, and was greatly respected for his talents and courage. *KINKEL* pronounced a touching *oraison funèbre* over his grave.

The mention of *KINKEL'S* name in connection with public speaking, reminds us that his *Lectures* have been so profitable to him that he is to deliver them in Manchester and Bradford, where some of our readers will be glad to know he is coming.

On several occasions we have had to speak severely of *LAMARTINE'S* undignified traffic of his great reputation. There is nothing in the

trade of Literature at which he seems abashed. To put money in his purse is so absorbing an aim, that he seems almost reckless of the means. What will the reader think of *LAMARTINE*—once the greatest name in France—now reduced to such straits that he bribes the subscribers to his paper by the offer of a free passage to London, so that that they may see our Crystal Palace, and read his eloquence for one year's subscription! A theatre once tried to lure unwilling audiences by the premium of "a glass of gin and an apple" to each visitor; and in the same spirit *LAMARTINE* placards the walls with—

"*Voyage à Londres sans rien payer!*
Abonnez vous au PAYS par A. DE LAMARTINE."

Is not this pitiable? What a degradation of a great name! Is it then so? All that eloquence, all those sounding periods, all that self-laudation, magnificence, heroism,—and no readers unless you lure them with a trip to London? Through Grecian Literature there runs a boding voice, "Count no man happy till you see his end;" for the end may efface the heavenly brightness of those early years; the noon may ruin what the morn began! Who that applauded *Les Méditations*, *Jocelyn*, *Les Harmonies*, ever thought to see the poet dragging his name thus servilely through the dirt?

Such cobwebs to catch flies will not prepossess readers in favour of his *Histoire de la Restauration*, the two first volumes of which lie on our table; and yet those volumes are the least egotistic and offensive of all his writings, and may be commended as fascinating romance of history, if not very grave and instructive. We shall examine them more fully next week.

Among the new books on *DULAU'S* counter there is one which will have peculiar interest to many of our readers—the first volume of *AUGUSTE COMTE'S Système de Politique Positive*. This is to be taken as the complement of his previous work. His *Philosophie Positive*, being occupied with the sciences, gave many the impression that the Positive Philosophy was a dry and incomplete system, excluding Religion, Morals, and Art. Attentive students knew better. They saw that not only did the Positive Philosophy admit of universal application, but that *COMTE* himself had certain vague glimmerings of Religion and Art, in accordance with the new system. These glimmerings have "broadened into day." The subjective aspect of Positive Philosophy he now undertakes to exhibit. In his former work he was forced by his method to proceed objectively—from the world up to man; he now proceeds subjectively—from man to the world. This system of Positive Polity he calls a Treatise of Sociology, instituting the Religion of Humanity.

Although it is impossible for so eminent a thinker to put forth any work that shall not contain matter of great value, we do not hesitate to declare our belief that this second portion of his system will be many many degrees below the first portion, and that he will find but few adherents to the forms of his new religion. In the very nature of things this part of his task must be more open to cavil; he has to construct a science of society, and commits what we cannot but regard as an enormous blunder in attempting to regulate the details of the future. He here falls into the trap of all the Socialists system-builders.

But no reservations of criticism will damp the ardour of true postivists to see this new volume, which is curious in many respects, and in none more so, perhaps, than in the story it presents of a love profound as that of *PETRARCH* for *LAURA*, forming, as it were, the turning-point of the philosopher's career, taking him by the hand just as he emerged from *Tartarus*, and conducting him to *Paradise*, as *DANTE* found himself led there by *BEATRICE*. There is much that will make the English reader smile in the naïveté with which *COMTE* thus bares his heart to the public; but the

incalculable influence exercised by a woman over the destiny of a philosopher, as indicative of the part Woman truly plays in the world, is worthy of profound attention.

ST. GILES AND ST. JAMES.

St. Giles and St. James. By Douglas Jerrold. (Forming Vol. I. of the Writings of Douglas Jerrold, collected Edition.)
Bradbury and Evans.

POLEMICS are rarely distinguished by generosity. Were it otherwise, we might stigmatize with indignant emphasis the ungenerous insinuation by which the "party of order" endeavours to paralyse the effect of any vivid picture of social disparity and political wrong, by attributing to the painter a vicious desire of "setting one class against another." Douglas Jerrold has evidently felt the keen injustice of the insinuation. It has been flung at him times out of number, and is meant to have all the force of an answer. His tone is so constantly the tone of indignation—honest, righteous indignation against the evils he sees tranquilly accepted or systematically preached—that the charge has a somewhat plausible air. He is so exasperated by the consecration of wrong in high places—he disbelieves so profoundly in the wisdom and nobility of those who sit in high places—that his utterance is uncompromising and defiant; and his writings, therefore, carry with them enough to make the charge not *primâ facie* a false one. It is monstrous, however, to read those writings, and see any less noble animus than that of vindicating truth and justice. Though a satirist, ay, and a "bitter" one when his blood is roused, he wages no war against persons; the abstract injustice and unholiness of the wrong he fights against is all, and enough for him.

In the preface to this, the first volume of his Collected Writings, he touches briefly, and without bitterness, though with evident pain, upon the charge we defend him from. He is right to await confidently the verdict of a dispassionate reader. It can be but an emphatic Not Guilty! Here, in this very tale of *St. Giles and St. James*, where the subject itself was a pitfall into which a careless writer would unconsciously have fallen, he has been betrayed into no "setting of one class against another," he has idealized no scoundrel, vilified no nobleman, set forth no social evil as the consequence of bad passions in the governors acting upon the virtues of the governed; but shown it as a result of the deep-rooted ignorance of governors, or their fatal disregard of the claims which the poor and ignorant have upon them.

Indeed the antithesis of the title is not borne out by the book. We have *St. Giles* vividly painted. Of *St. James* we have next to nothing, and that not politically or socially characteristic. Instead of giving us a virtuous *St. Giles*, resisting all the bad influences of his education and circumstances, and shaming by his generosity the selfishness of *St. James*—a scoundrel in purple and fine linen—instead of contrasting thus the heroic poor with the egotistic rich, as he ought to have done, according to the critic's charge of setting class against class, Jerrold has given us a *real St. Giles*—sharp, unprincipled, reckless, "a human waif of dirt and darkness," and a *real St. James*—careless, kindly, spoiled, self-willed, with no other theory of life than that it was meant for amusement. And as we said, of this *St. James* we have but faint glimpses; he fills no space in the book; he does not form a legitimate contrast with *St. Giles*. Indeed, here critically speaking, we have an objection to enter. For a philosophical fiction like this, *St. James* plays too insignificant a part. The object is to show the effect of British ignorance and criminal associates on the young pauper whom the State so shamefully disregards—to show how a child left to fight its way through life without moral training of any kind, but such as it can pick up from the alleys of crime, becomes one of the "dangerous classes." Either this object should be effected directly, without aid of contrast, or if contrast be employed, the type chosen should effect its purpose. Now *St. James* is meant as a contrast, but is not one. *St. Giles* standing as the representative of Vice growing up from want of culture, *St. James* should stand as the representative of Excellence growing up from such culture as society furnishes. Here the two poles, positive and negative, would find their several illustrations. Or if the author rejected such saw construction, and wished for freer movement more resembling life, he might have used *St. James* as the type of Vice growing up from self-indulgence and luxury, to which culture gave nothing but refinement—a polish not a discipline—and thus the

highest class and the lowest class have been made to illustrate in their immorality the necessity of some middle term of wholesome discipline.

Jerrold has painted nothing of the kind. His St. James serves to give an antithesis to the title, and that is all. The effect of education and of circumstance upon his character is not indicated even in the faintest manner. He is, indeed, almost neglected by the author, and employed mainly as an agent in the story. Occupied with direct illustration in St. Giles, Jerrold has not attended much to contrast. As a set-off to this objection, let us note with applause the admirable consistency with which St. Giles is preserved during the first half of his career. The temptation to idealize has been resisted with a dramatic fortitude as rare as it is admirable. The knowing young blackguard reared in the London streets—the sharp, ignorant, unprincipled, daring scamp—vicious because he knows not virtue, unprincipled because untaught—is never transformed into an heroic, imaginative, or unselfish youth, but preserves his decided individuality through all changes of circumstance. This is a merit which will only strike the critical reader, because only the critical reader will be aware of its rarity; others will simply think the character “so true” and pass on. In praising this creation, however, we allude only to the St. Giles shown us during the first half of his career—up to the time when he returns to England as an escaped convict; for subsequent to that his individuality is lost in the incidents of the tale, and becomes inappreciable. St. Giles the pauper brat, the young thief, and the returned convict, are vivid enough; but St. Giles the virtuous servant is a nonentity. While on this subject let us also note that Capstick and Bright Jen—both delightful creations—grow a little too intellectual towards the close, and lose something of their individuality thereby. Tom Blast is the best preserved: nothing changes him but the bed of death, which softens all men.

The book has many excellences. Nothing signed by Jerrold can be deficient in wit, fancy, and quaintness of illustration. This work is bright with them; but many readers will be surprised at its surpassing interest as a story, especially those who do not believe in his power to construct one. In our opinion it is one of the most thoughtful, as it certainly is the most entertaining of his fictions. There is a more powerful grasp of reality in it than in any other. He allows his love of the fanciful and fantastic to express itself in images and illustrations, and not—as he too often does—to mingle with the current of the work. And what images! what illustrations! what an inexhaustible fancy, throwing out flowers as Houdin throws them from his inexhaustible hat, surprising the audience by their prodigality, no less than by their beauty! How quaint and witty, for example, this illustration of an old usurer's age!—

“He had sixty iron winters—and every one of them as plain as an iron bar—in his face. Time had used his visage as Robinson Crusoe used his wooden calendar, nothing every day in it.”

How like Sir Thomas Browne this is!—

“For, apart from association, the expression of a bare skull has, to ourselves at least, little in it serious; nay, there has always seemed to us a quaint cheerfulness in it. The cheek-bones look still puckered with a smile, as though contracted when it flung aside the mask of life, and caught a glimpse of the on-coming glory.”

Then, again, when Miss Canary, “a born lady,” though now a vendor of “apples, oranges, ginger-beer, or bill of the play,” is outraged by the presence of a negro footman, and declares she will not stay in the room with a blackamoer:—

“Bewildered, yet endeavouring to make a graceful retreat, she still remained motionless, drawn taller as pride and death will draw people.”

But the pages glitter with bright sentences, rapid telling dialogues, and fine descriptions. Trusting to your being sufficiently guided by our recommendation to get the book and enjoy it quietly by yourself, we shall merely select a passage or two by way of stimulating curiosity, and so leave it:—

THE GREAT MUFFIN MAKER.

“Where Mr. Capstick came from nobody knew. It was plain he was one of those people who now and then drop from the sky into a neighbourhood, for no other end than to adorn and dignify it. Any way it was plain that Mr. Capstick thought as much; and he was not a man to disguise his thoughts when they at all tended to his self-glorification. True it was, muffins had been known in St. Giles's ere Mr. Capstick lighted his oven there. But what muffins! How, too, were they made—where vended? Why,

as Mr. Capstick would observe, they were made as if they were bad halfpence—and they were quite as hard to chew—in guilt and darkness. Nobody knew what they were eating. Now, all the world might see him make his muffins. Indeed, he would feel obliged to the world if it would take that trouble. To be sure, he was throwing his muffins to swine—but he couldn't help that. It wasn't his nature to do anything that wasn't first rate; he knew he was a loser by it; all men who did so were; nevertheless, a man who was a true man would go on ruining himself for the world, though he might hate the world all the time he was doing it. His muffins were open to the universe. There was no mystery in him, none at all. And then he would say, glowing at times with a strange eloquence, ‘What a glorious thing it would be for the world if every man made his muffin—whatever that muffin might be—in the open light of heaven; and not in a cupboard, a hole, a corner! It was making muffins in secret, and in darkness, that made three parts of the misery of mankind.’ When people heard Mr. Capstick discourse after this fashion they would confidentially declare to one another that it was plain he was born above his business; he was a broken-down gentleman; perhaps come of a Jacobite family, and made muffins to hide his disgrace. True it was, there was a pomposity, a swagger, an affected contempt of the people with whom he turned the penny, that gave some warranty for these opinions. Notwithstanding, Mr. Capstick, with all his consequence, all his misanthropy—and he wore his hatred of mankind as he would have worn a diamond ring, a thing at once to be put in the best light and to be very proud of—was a great favourite. The cellars of St. Giles's echoed his praises. He was, in his way, a great benefactor to his poorest neighbours. ‘You see, Mary Anne,’ he would say to his wife, ‘what a blessing there is in corn. When muffins are too stale to sell, they're always good enough to give away.’ And these remainder muffins he would frequently bestow upon the veriest needy, accompanied with phrases that spoke his contempt of human nature, his own particular nature included.”

This amiable misanthrope thus humourously discourses on—

THE HEDGEHOG AND THE CAT.

“With this, Capstick took two steps from his chair, stooped, and in a moment returning to his seat, placed a hedgehog on the table.

“‘Humph,’ said Kingcup, ‘tis an odd creature for a bosom friend.’

“‘Give me all bosom friends like him,’ cried Capstick. ‘For then there'd be no deceit in 'em: you'd see the worst of 'em at the beginning. Now, look at this fine honest fellow. What plain, straightforward truths he bears about him! You see at once that he is a living pincushion with the pins' points upwards, and instantly you treat him after his own open nature. You know he's not to be played at ball with: you take in with a glance all that his exterior signifies, and ought to love him for his frankness. Poor wretch! 'Tis a thousand and a thousand times the ruin of him. He has, it is true, an outside of thorns—Heaven made him with them—but a heart of honey. A meek, patient thing! And yet, because of his covering, the world casts all sorts of slanders upon him; accuses him of wickedness he could not, if he would, commit. And so he is kicked and cudgelled, and made the cruellest sport of; his persecutors all the while thinking themselves the best of people for their worst of treatment. He bears a plain exterior; he shows so many pricking truths to the world, that the world, in revenge, couples every outside point with an interior devil. He is made a martyr for this iniquity, he hides nothing. Poor Velvet!’ and Capstick very gently stroked the hedgehog, and proffered it a slice of apple and a piece of bread.

“‘'Tis a pity,’ said Kingcup, ‘that all hedgehogs arn't translated after your fashion.’

“‘What a better world 't would make of it!’ answered the cynic. ‘But no, sir, no; that's the sort of thing the world loves,’ and Capstick pointed to a handsome tortoiseshell cat, stretched at her fullest length upon the hearth. ‘What a meek, cosy face she has; a placid, quiet sort of grandmother look!—may all grandmothers forgive me! Then, to see her lap milk, why you'd think a drop of blood of any sort would poison her. The wret h! 'twas only last week she killed and ate one of my doves, and afterwards sat wiping her whiskers with her left paw, as comfortably as any dowager at a tea-party. I nursed her before she had any eyes to look at her benefactor, and she has sat and purled upon my knee, as though she knew all she owed me, and was trying to pay the debt with her best singing. And for all this, look here—this is what she did only yesterday,’ and Capstick showed three long fine scratches on his right hand.

“‘That's nothing,’ said Mr. Kingcup. ‘You know that cats will scratch.’

“‘To be sure I do,’ replied Capstick; ‘and all the world knows it; but the world don't think the worse of them for it, and for this reason; they can, when they like, so well hide their claws. Now, poor little Velvet here—poor vermin martyr!—he can't disguise

what he has; and so he's hunted and worried for being, as I may say, plain-spoken; when puss is petted and may sleep all day long at the fire, because in faith she's so glossy, and looks so innocent. And all the while, has she not murderous teeth and talons?’”

Here is something in another strain:—

CHURCH BELLS AND CHURCH GOERS.

“‘There's something beautiful in the church bells, don't you think so, Jen?’ asked Capstick, in a subdued tone. ‘Beautiful and hopeful—they talk to high and low, rich and poor, in the same voice; there's a sound in 'em that should scare pride and envy, and meanness of all sorts, from the heart of man; that should make him look upon the world with kind, forgiving eyes; that should make the earth itself seem to him, at least for a time, a holy place. Yes, Jen, there's a whole sermon in the very sound of the church bells, if we have only the ears to rightly understand it. There's a preacher in every belfry, Jen, that cries, ‘Poor, weary, struggling, fighting creatures—poor human things! take rest, be quiet. Forget your vanities, your follies, your week-day craft, your heart-burnings! And you, ye human vessels, gilt and painted, believe the iron tongue that tells ye that, for all your gilding, all your colours, ye are of the same Adam's earth with the beggar at your gates. Come away, come, cries the church bell, and learn to be humble; learning that, however daubed and stained, and stuck about with jewels, you are but grave clay! Come, Dives, come; and be taught that all your glory, as you wear it, is not half so beautiful in the eye of Heaven as the sores of uncomplaining Lazarus! And ye poor creatures, livid and faint—stinted and crushed by the pride and hardness of the world—come, come, cries the bell, with the voice of an angel, come and learn what is laid up for ye. And learning, take heart, and walk among the wickednesses, the cruelties of the world, calmly as Daniel walked among the lions.’” Here Capstick, flushed and excited, wrought beyond himself, suddenly paused. Jen stared, astonished, but said no word. And then Capstick, with calmer manner, said, ‘Jen, is there a finer sight than a stream of human creatures passing from a Christian church?’

“‘Why,’ said Jen, ‘that's as a man may consider with himself. It may be, as you say, a very fine sight—and it may be, what I call a very sad and melancholy show, indeed.’

“‘Sad and melancholy!’ cried Capstick; ‘you'll have a hard task to prove that.’

“‘Perhaps so, only let me do it after my own fashion.’ Capstick nodded assent. ‘Bless you! I've thought of it many a time when I've seen a church emptying itself into the street. Look here, now. I'll suppose there's a crowd of people—a whole mob of 'em going down the church steps. And at the church door there is I don't know how many roods of Christian carriages, with griffins painted on the panels, and swords, and daggers, and battle-axes, that, as well as I can remember, Jesus doesn't recommend nowhere; and there's the coachmen, half asleep, and trying to look religious; and there's footmen following some, and carrying the Holy Bible after their misuses, just as to-morrow they'll carry a spanel—and that's what they call their humility. Well, that's a pleasant sight, isn't it? And then for them who're not ashamed to carry their own big prayer-books, with the gold leaves twinkling in the sun, as if they took pains to tell the world they'd been to church—well, how many of them have been there in earnest? How many of them go there with no thought whatsoever, only that it's Sunday—church-going day? And so they put on what they think religion that day, just as I put on a clean shirt. Bless you! sometimes I've stood and watched the crowd, and I've said to myself, ‘Well, I should like to know how many of you will remember you're Christians till next week? How many of you go to-morrow morning to your offices, and counting-houses, and stand behind your counters, and all in the way of business—all to scramble up the coin—forget you're miserable sinners, while every other thing you do may make you more miserable, only you never feel it, so long as it makes you more rich? And so, there's a Sunday conscience like a Sunday coat; and folks who'd get on in the world put 'em once a week. Well, to think how many such folks go to worship—why, then I must say it, Master Capstick, to stand inside a church and watch a congregation coming out, however you may stare, may be—I can't help, after my fashion, thinking so—a melancholy sight indeed. Lord love you, when we see what some people do all the week—people who're staunch at church, remember—I can't help thinking there's a good many poor souls who're only Christians at morning and afternoon service.’”

Here again:—

LIFE AND DEATH.

“He passed on, crossed the road; the street was thronged; the hubbub of the day was at its height; yet St. Giles saw nothing but those pinioned men, and the preacher of Christ's word, in the name of his

merciful Master, solacing sinners to be in a moment strangled by the warrant of a Christian king. He paused, and with his hand before his eyes, leaned against a wall; and piercing words in terrible distinctness fell upon him—"I am the resurrection and the life." He started, and a few paces from him, in St. Giles's churchyard, he beheld the parish priest. The holy man was reading the burial service over pauper clay; was sanctifying ashes to ashes, dust to dust, amid the whirl of life—the struggle and the roar of money-clawing London.

"The ceremony went on, the solemn sentences tuned with the music of eternal hopes, fitfully heard through cries of 'Chairs to mend,' and 'Live Mackarel.' The awful voice of Death seemed scoffed, derided, by the reckless bully, Life. The prayer that embalmed poor human dust for the judgment, seemed as measured gibberish that could never have a meaning for those who hurried to and fro, as though immortality dwelt in their sinews. And that staid and serious-looking man, with upturned eyes and sonorous voice, clad in a robe of white, and holding an open book,—why, what was he? Surely, he was playing some strange part in a piece of business in which business men could have no interest. The ceremony is not concluded, and now comes an adventurous trader with a dromedary and a monkey on its back, the well-taught pug, with doffed feathered cap, sagaciously soliciting halfpence. And there, opposite the churchyard, the prayer of the priest coming brokenly to his ears, is a tradesman smiling at his counter, ringing the coin, and scarcely snuffing the Golgotha at his door, asking what article he shall next have the happiness to show? And thus in London highways do Death and Life shoulder each other. And life heeds not the foul, impertinent warning; but at the worst thinks Death, when so very near, a nuisance. It is made by familiarity a nasty, vulgar, unhealthy thing; it is too close a neighbour to become a solemnity."

PALGRAVE'S NORMANDY AND ENGLAND.

The History of Normandy and of England. By Sir Francis Palgrave, K.H. Vol. I. J. W. Parker.

It is in presence of such works as this that we feel how inadequate is the most elaborate criticism we can admit into our columns, and how restricted must be our notice. There are many heads upon which we might discourse—many topics upon which we should willingly enter into discussion with Sir Francis Palgrave; but we cannot dismiss in a brief paragraph what has evidently cost years of careful consideration, and more than brief paragraphs we cannot afford room for.

It is a vast undertaking which Sir Francis has before him, and he seems disposed to treat it with commensurate amplitude. Indeed, only what Thackeray, in his lectures, expressively called "men of lazy literature," will view with equanimity the flowing copiousness of this garrulous history, adapted rather for the literature of Patriarchs than for our busy rapid time. The very prelude would form a moderate volume; and when the story itself begins to unroll its gigantic coils, the same slow movement continues. Sir Francis defends this excessive length: his tediousness has a design in it. But although the principles laid down in his preface will find many adherents, we doubt whether their application in his work will meet with equal success. Sir Francis knows better what is needful to be done than how to do it. He has studied history till he has realized a very distinct conception of what is needed; but the artistic faculty is not often the accompaniment of the critical; and although the diversity and amplitude of his narrative make his volume agreeable to read, they by no means serve their purpose of fixing more permanently in the reader's memory a picture of the epoch and its events. We might establish this position by a variety of illustrations; one shall content us:—The chapter on the Roman Language is pleasant and gossipy, but its application to the work is of the slightest. A volume of mediæval history may not unfitly be preluded by a chapter on the Latin language, but not by such a chapter as this, which is no more than a collection of "notes," and might have been copied from a commonplace book without modification. Remove it from the volume, and you do not make the volume a whit less intelligible.

The opening paragraph of this chapter is one of those sententious platitudes which seriously disfigure the work. It is of the kind which modern historians seem prone to indulge in. There is an air of impertinence about such sermonizing which critics ought not to overlook. Mr. Alison, for example, in his *History of Europe*, has so outraged common sense by the immodesty of his twaddle, that he has made the book hateful to our sight. Sir Francis has no such gems of solemn inanity as those that sparkle in the pages of the

History of Europe; but he obviously belongs to the same school of thinkers, as witness this:—

"He who breathed into man's nostrils the breath of life, first opened the lips of man. Adam first spake when he was solitary. No human ear but his own could hear the sound of his human voice; called into action under the immediate tuition of the power from whom the faculty emanated."

We will not rub the bloom off this delicate fruit of philosophy by any brutal commentary—we present it to the reader for his inspection, merely informing him that the marginal note to this grand utterance intimates it to be nothing less than this:—"Origin of language not the subject of human philosophy."

Whatever his capacity as an artist, you will not expect much from him as a philosopher after the above. We are tempted to give two specimens of his philosophy of history, the more so because he is excessively prone to preach it. The first shall be on—

PROVIDENCE IN HISTORY.

"Mathematicians have felt aggrieved, because they often hear those who are usually called 'sensible men,' 'educated men,' and the like, assert that they do not doubt of 'runs of luck'; speaking in a tone which implies that the occurrences of such tides of success or adversity are occasioned by an unknown or mysterious cause. The analyst calls this a superstition; but there is a superstition approaching to weakness, or worse, in being over-afraid of superstition. Men do not doubt the fact of 'luck,' simply because the casual coincidences which over-rule all theories of moral or mathematical probability, are matters of daily observation.

"The theories of probabilities may be indisputably true according to mathematical reasoning, showing that no one man can have a greater chance in the game than another; nevertheless, experience constantly contradicts the reasoning. Perhaps we may rather say that both views of the question are true; if so be we recollect that 'chance,' under every form or mode of existence, is predestinated in the universal plan of Providence. Matter, Life, Soul, and Spirit, are ruled by the One Maker of all things visible and invisible, the One Lord of infinity and eternity. Every permutation, every succession, every series and every combination of number, weight, or measure, is preordained.

"Omnipotence cannot be absent. The Omnipotent cannot be limited, nor his Omniscience bounded. Upon that earth which has been created for the habitation of man, accident is regulated with determined relations to the accountable beings who are affected by the events, fortuitous and yet designed. The gamster is brought to the Casino, where the faces of the die are to be turned uppermost, which will make or mar his fortune. He is conducted thither to meet the predestinated series of throws. By figures, and tables, and theorems we calculate ourselves out of these realities; but activity, anxiety, above all danger, will surely bring them home. 'Every bullet has its billet,' says the soldier, who falls into the contrary extreme, yielding to the dreary apathy of a blind fatality. Yet the soldier expresses himself truly, for the man who receives the mortal wound is driven by the destroying Angel before the mouth of the cannon whose discharge is to cut him off. And this involves the whole bearing of casualties and apparent trifles upon the mightiest affairs of collective mankind. Universal History bears witness to the truth, yet the Philosophy of History shrinks away from the conclusions which she dares not deny.

"Nor with respect to those events resulting evidently from physical laws, is the need of the acknowledgment less cogent; for we are bound to reverence these laws as the emanations of Almighty power, obeying His will. When the sun's noonday rays are made to fire the meridian mortar, the explosion occasioned by the unvaried rotation of the planetary sphere is effected by the workman whose adaptation of the lens guided the concentrated beams.

"Apply the same reasonings to all the operations of secondary causes developed in the material or transitory world, when they are rendered directly and immediately subservient to the government of the spiritual or eternal kingdom. Very superficial and erroneous are the teachers who worry themselves to employ their science. The outward yet marvellous knowledge of the works of God obtained through the senses, in discrediting or denying the dispensation that the particular events, occasioned by the regular and orderly course of nature, does equally fulfil the decree of special Providence. The mist or the blast may be condensed or dispersed, guided or stayed by the general laws of electricity and heat, of air and moisture; and the fertility of the field certainly depends on the operation of the laws by which vegetation is promoted or retarded. But the husbandman, who acknowledges the abundance as a blessing, or who receives the failing crop as a punishment, has been allotted to that very field for his profit or his trial: and for him, each individual cloud has been wafted upon the wings of the wind, with the purposed intent that it may drop fulness on

the globe, or destroy the hopes of the harvest. No event can be disconnected from the First Cause of all events. It was one of the shallowest gibes of Frederick 'the Great' that, somehow or another, Providence always takes the side of the King who has the largest battalions. This dictum has not even the recommendation of historical truth—he himself falsified it. But even if it were true, it would not in any wise alter the highest truth; for the question would still remain to be answered, Who imparts the power by which the armies are raised?"

Now, this appears to us extremely vicious reasoning, but we content ourselves with indicating whither it points: If every permutation, every succession, every series, every trifle be preordained, there can be no special Providence, since the whole scheme is the fulfilment, in every detail, of Providence; and—observe this dilemma!—if the whole scheme be but the fulfilment of Providence preadjusted, preordained, then all vice and crime vanish from the world, or are the deliberate will of Providence!

Sir Francis is, however, consistent; he not only reads the writing of Providence in all events, but he sees Divine Warnings or Smiles in the variations of the weather—sunshine being to him the real smile of Providence upon man's effort:—

"The cosmical phenomena, so physically and morally important during the mediæval era, continued and increased. The heavens throbbed with blue and red and yellow fires; comets and cometary beams traversed the sky—tremendous earthquakes increased the alarm. The volcanic Rhine region was particularly disturbed, but the concussions were not confined to this locality. Commencing with earth—thunder. The shocks prevailed seven days throughout the Gauls; the subterranean 'bellowings,' as they are described, recurring periodically at certain ascertained watches and hours of night and day. To these were added keen famine and dire pestilence. Taken in the wider sense, every physical phenomenon is an historical incident, whether affecting the material condition of man or his mind—the pestilence-breathing blast not more so than the Aurora's innocuous beams. Feebly and faint-heartedly would Livy, the rebuker of a corrupt and apostate generation, have fulfilled his high mission, had he not constantly and faithfully borne witness to the prodigies whilome received by his forefathers, as testifying the active presence of the Deity, teaching them to nourish their strength by confessing their weakness, and to acknowledge that their power has a free gift, which the gods, the divine warnings condemned, would take away.

"Science cannot dispel this lurking belief, so flippantly denominated 'superstition'—it is innate and unconquerable. If the weather be coarse during the national fête, the tricolour is gloomy. The Parisians are dispirited by the darkened heavens, and they loudly give utterance to their heaviness. That a bright gleam of sunshine should suddenly illuminate the House of Peers, and dart down upon the Lords Commissioners when they declared the royal assent to the Reform Bill, was joyfully accepted by the hard-headed unimaginative Radical as a happy foreboding. Tokens, predictions, prognostics, possess a psychological reality. All events are but the consummation of preceding causes, distinctly felt though not clearly apprehended until the accomplishment ensues. Whilst the strain is sounding, the pre-established harmony of atmosphere, of nerve, and of soul, reveals to the most untutored listener that the tune will end with the key-note, though he cannot explain why each succeeding bar leads to the concluding chord."

These examples will justify our mediocre respect for the philosophic qualities exhibited in this volume, but we must not mislead our readers into the supposition that philosophy is the great claim of this *History of England and Normandy*. Unable, from the very nature of things, to present any adequate account of its contents, we have merely seized upon one point, which was not unimportant, and could easily be detached. Having done so, we must pay homage to the labour and learning here set forth. Sir Francis has studied his vast subject with courageous ardour; he has gone to the sources for his knowledge; and he handles each topic with easy adroitness resulting from long familiarity. In all the higher qualities of an historian we consider him seriously deficient; but his work will be a contribution of decided value to all who occupy themselves with mediæval history.

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

Lectures on the German Mineral Waters, and on their Rational Employment for the cure of certain Chronic Diseases. By Sigismund Sutro, M.D. J. W. Parker.

Dr. Sutro is a German who has devoted special attention to the spas of his country, and has delivered the results of his study in lectures at the Hunterian School of Medicine, which are here republished in a

portable volume. The peculiarity of this book is that it examines the curative properties of each of the spas, illustrating their several characteristics, thus affording the invalid something like a guide as to which spa he ought to select for his own case. Although addressed to medical students, the style is popular, and fits it for general reading.

The Human Body and its Connection with Man illustrated by the Principal Organs. By James John Garth Wilkinson. Chapman and Hall.

This solid volume of Swedenborgian Physiology embraces elaborate chapters on the Brain, the Lungs, Assimilation and its organs, the Heart, the Skin, the Human Form, and Health. It gives popular descriptions of these organs in accordance with the most advanced physiological views; but the utility and interest of the volume is somewhat restricted by the intermingling of Swedenborgian views, which only the adepts will adopt. The work is written with great earnestness and some power.

General History of the Christian Religion and Church. Translated from the German of Dr. Augustus Neander. By Joseph Torrey. Vol. III. (Bohn's Standard Library.) H. G. Bohn.

The third volume of this elaborate history is not inferior in interest to the others. The relation of the Roman Emperors to the Christian Church is treated with great minuteness; the chapters on Constantine and Julian being of the highest importance. The section on the Extension of Christianity beyond the limits of the Roman Empire is learnedly but heavily treated; while that on the history of the Constitution of the Church is excellent, precise, ample, satisfactory. As usual we have to express gratitude for the honesty with which Neander executes his great work; there is no "scampering" in his workmanship, nor is there any unfairness in his arguments.

Great Exhibition, 1881. Official, Descriptive, and Illustrated Catalogue. Part II. Machinery.

This splendid companion to our Crystal Palace will certainly be the book on the subject, being at once comprehensive and exhaustive. The second part contains classes V to X, and is devoted to the immense subject of machinery. The illustrations are profuse, and executed with extreme care. The letter-press is precise, without being dry; conveying all the useful information, without superfluous flourishing.

The Characteristic Features of some of the Principal Systems of Socialism. Delivered at the Rooms of the Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations. By Edward Vansittart Neale, Esq. J. Tuppinger.

A brief sketch of the Socialist systems of Fourier, St. Simon, Owen, and Graeves, with criticisms, and indications of Christian Socialism. Clearly and popularly written, this exposition will serve as a good introduction to the study of the subject.

THE BEAUTIFUL.—Ideality is a strong guardian of virtue; for they who have tasted its genuine pleasures, can never rest satisfied with those of mere sense. But it is possible, however, to cultivate the taste to such a degree as to induce a fastidious refinement, when it becomes the inlet of more pain than pleasure. Nor is the worst of over-refinement the loss of selfish gratification; it is apt to interfere with benevolence, to avoid the sight of inelegant distress, to shrink from the contact of vulgar worth, and to lead us to despise those whose feeling of taste is less delicate and correct than our own. If the beautiful and the useful be incompatible, the beautiful must give way,—as the means of the existence and comfort of the masses must be provided before the elegancies which can only conduce to the pleasure of the few. Selfishness though refined is still but selfishness, and refinement ought never to interfere with the means of doing good in the world as it at present exists. It is not desirable to appeal early to this feeling, or perhaps even directly to cultivate it. If the other faculties are well developed and properly cultivated, this will attain sufficient strength of itself. The beautiful is the clothing of the infinite, and in the contemplation of the beautiful, and the love of perfection, not in churches, we seek our highest and most intimate communion with God, and draw nearer and nearer to Him. The fine arts—painting, sculpture, music, as well as poetry—ought all to minister to ideality. The proper use of painting, for instance, ought to be to represent everything that is beautiful in the present, and to recall all that is worthy of remembrance in the past. To give body to those spiritual pictures of ideal beauty and perfection which ideality forms—to give a faithful representation of the great and good that have departed, and to put vividly before us those actions and scenes, those pages from universal history which have a tendency to refine, to exalt, and to enlarge the soul,—this is what painting ought to aim at. To paint, however perfectly, horses being shod, deer being hunted, the agony of poor animals in traps, bread and cheese, and lobsters, and foaming ale, is but an abuse and a perversion of one of the highest gifts and attainments, which a more civilized age will repudiate. A pig-sty, however perfectly painted, still but recalls the idea of a pig-sty; and if it excites any feeling, it is one of regret that such wonderful art should be so misapplied.—*Education of the Feelings, by Charles Bray.*

Portfolio.

We should do our utmost to encourage the Beautiful, for the Useful encourages itself.—GORDON.

THE PRÆ-RAPHAELITES.

I find the town, or the artistic section of it, divided in controversy about the Præ-Raphaelites; that new school which piques itself on painting as men did before our great masters brought the art of design to its maturity. It is as if a new school of astronomers chose to go back to the Præ-Newtonian day, as, indeed, I have known them do at Rome; or English poets preferred the Præ-Shakespearean æra, with the crude arrangement, bad metre, and bad grammar of Chaucer. The main idea of the school seems to be, that because early artists strive to realize nature, they must be greater than later students, who strive to realize art—as much greater as Nature is than Art. They forget that "art" is a mere expression for certain ascertained rules to carry out the Artists' endeavours; rules that have been brought to something like completeness by the endeavours of the early artists, who, like the early workmen at the Temple, did not live to know the complete edifice. The more of real Art there is, the more Nature.

These Præ-Raphaelites are what painters call "naturalists"—naturalists, professing to copy nature exactly, because they copy individual traits and blemishes. Nay, to prove that they have no æsthetic pride, they prefer as models individuals who are not beautiful—who are uncomely, awkward, emaciated, feeble, and sickly, with ill-developed features. This is a Cockney idea of nature; it is an idea suggested by the habitual sight of models whose frames have been stunted, whose countenances have been distorted and deformed, under the influence of crowded streets, bad drainage, and pauper wages. There is no reason to suppose that the human company in Noah's Ark was drafted from an English workhouse. Historical evidence bears the other way. There is little reason to set up the forms of pauper humanity as those of nature. Why should you fix upon any individual as the type or model, especially if his form is marked by blemishes peculiar to himself? Why lay your hand on John Smith or Tom Wilkinson, and say "this nature." Mr. Wilkinson is not "nature," even in your own limited and gross sense. Let us get out of the back streets of London or Paris, out of the confined mountains of the Savoy Alps, or the swamps of Michigan—let us go wherever the elements are untainted, wherever human limbs and energies have free play, and we shall find a different type of humanity from that for which you monopolize the name of "nature."

Preferring harsh forms, the Præ-Raphaelites naturally prefer harsh actions; the one mistake follows the other. But it could only exist in the truly civic view of nature. Wherever you find the forms healthily developed, the limbs in freedom, and the feelings unconstrained, or vivacious in themselves and direct in their expression, you will find the action animated, but not ungraceful. If Millais had followed the Red Indian in his peculiarly unconstrained walk, where every movement is vigorous, curved, and cat-like in its noiseless grace; if he had been familiar with the scantily clothed Italian peasant, unrestrained by braces and not addicted to affectations—for the Italian is the most natural of human beings; if he had watched the sailor springing from spar to spar, or dropping from rope to rope, in fair weather and foul, fostering a prosperous speed or confronting mortal peril with conquering hardihood; if he had been familiar with such sights, he would cease to associate the idea of nature with knees tied together, elbows pinioned to the sides, sickly features, scraggy limbs, uncouth gestures, or angular action.

I suspect that this propensity for the specially ill-formed is brought about by no natural impulse; but by a mistaken, a perverse, a superartificial dislike to "the Ideal." There has been much abuse of that same Ideal, much foolish talk about it: some of the most judicious teachers do not seem to me to explain its nature distinctly or accurately. It is generally represented as an imaginary model, created by the "eclectic" assemblage of excellences; but that is not a true explanation either in fact or theory. The Ideal is approached by the opposite process. By incessantly and faithfully copying from Nature in its individual specimens, but learning to cast off from each the errors and blemishes peculiar to itself,

the student gradually approaches to his own Ideal; which is the average of his experiences, errors excepted. "The Ideal" is no more than a vague expression for the whole knowledge of form acquired by the artist, in all its varieties, with such mastery that he is able to discriminate between that which is essential to the race, or even to the perfect development and action of any variety, and that which is a fault or blemish of the individual.

What is the practical use of the Ideal to Art? I will explain that by a familiar illustration. Nothing is more common than to observe that plainness of countenance is repulsive to us at first; but that we grow used to it, and learn to value the expression of the mind within. We learn to understand that which at first is unintelligible; though, as we afterwards find, it pleases us when we understand it. The features are the instruments for expressing the feelings; when they approach to the typical form, their play is to us a language intelligible, and it pleases us from the first. In proportion as they depart from the typical form, they not only speak a dialect which is alien to us, but one which conveys positively false impressions. By familiarity we learn to translate that dialect; aided in doing so, however, by the auxiliary interpretation of the voice, the actions, and the direct avowals. Now, the artist is limited to the single medium of superficial form; if he select a kind of form removed from the type, he chooses an utterance which is a strange dialect, and one for which we are without the auxiliary interpretations: we have but slight opportunity of getting used to pictured plainness. In proportion as he seeks the typical form, the expression becomes direct, intelligible, forcible. This is the use of the Ideal.

Millais—for, without disparagement to the others, to speak of the Præ-Raphael school is to speak preeminently of him—has chosen to go through that course in his own person, which has been traversed by the great body of artists—a laborious course of empirical tentatives among mistakes and crudities. But I will in another article point out the special application of the principles to his latest pictures. They are full of power and beauty; they show a growing appreciation of truth, a growing power over materials; and unless the choice of a grotesque style is suggested by an instinctive desire to conceal some deficient sense of symmetry, Millais will advance from the nonage of Art to its maturity. I am inclined to think him the most promising apprentice that the English school has yet seen.

T. H.

The Arts.

CRITICISM.

During the fortnight I have been separated from my "gentle reader" the subject of Criticism has frequently solicited my thoughts. Unable to criticise, I meditated on Criticism.

And first, is Criticism a lawful occupation? St. Jerome in his tribulations over the Vulgate, which had cost him labours so immense, and had been met with criticisms so exasperating, exclaimed, "Had I been a maker of baskets no one would have troubled me!" It is very true; the maker of baskets courts no "bubble reputation," and is sheltered in obscurity. Yet even he, perchance, has to bear the Criticism of severe housewives; but the insult is private, because the transaction is private; if he aspire to a nobler glory he must endure a more public ignominy; soliciting the "gentle voices" of a multitude, he must be prepared for rotten eggs. St. Jerome himself, Vulgate in hand, could not escape inexorable Criticism, and I think he was weak to complain of it. None of us escape it. What is half our conversation but Criticism of our friends? Criticism more or less elaborate and official is the shadow which accompanies publicity. In spoken talk, or printed talk, opinions will find utterance. When a man sets up to instruct or amuse us, and for that instruction or amusement demands our money as well as our applause, it is clearly a lawful thing in any or all of us to express our opinion, be that opinion scorn. Consider the presumption implied in publicity! A man assembles an audience, occupies their time, lightens their exchequer; under the express condition of representing Othello storm-tost on the sea of passion, or Figaro, the restless *factotum della città*—and of so representing it that the high ecstasies of Art shall fill the spectator's soul. That is the implied stipu-

lation. Othello turns out to be a stamping, ranting, spluttering gentleman with very imperfect knowledge of the English language, or Figaro has nothing but impudence: is Criticism then no lawful occupation?—is scorn no duty?

But the Critic has a higher office. He is the severe guardian of public taste. He has to keep a vigilant eye upon the universal tendency in all publishers, managers, and purveyors, to appeal to the lower appetites of men. He is the aesthetic Policeman. [Ah! how true that illustration! How often this aesthetic Policeman forgets his stern duty in the amenities of cold meat and pickles, and finds it impossible to speak the truth of his Amphytrion when that truth is not flattering!]

I dare say the grand seigneurs of criticism look down upon us weekly and daily Critics; occupied with theoretic considerations, studying only the great works of past times, all the merits of which have been pointed out, and all the faults discussed, they fancy Criticism of ephemera must be easy and trivial. And no doubt, much of the printed talk that distributes immortality to the successes of a day-seeing, in every historical novelist a rival of Walter Scott, in every singer a Malibran, in every painter a Raphael—no doubt this is easy enough. But, did it ever occur to you that a perilous thing it is to be forced to label as good or bad, true or false, books, plays, pictures, singers, actors, before the world has decided? The Critic has no time given him to compare his impressions with the impressions of others; he cannot like the grand seigneurs just referred to, turn back to what others have said; he has no finger-post to guide him; the book lies open before him, he has no guide but his own taste, he cannot wait, he must pronounce at once, pronounce at his peril: He may write "This will never do" against an Excursion, he may write "This is a work of genius" against the flimsiest fabric of the season's manufactory—and his judgment is at stake! To such a man, Criticism must be what Longinus defined it, the result of abundant experience—πολλῆς ἐστὶ πείρας τελευτικὸν ἐπιγινώσκαι. Only long experience and tact can give him that rapidity and certainty of judgment; and with all his experience, with all his tact, how often he will make egregious blunders! Emerson says with great truth, "A deduction must be made from the opinion which even the wise express of a new book or occurrence. Their opinion gives me tidings of their mood, and some vague guess at the new fact, but is nowise to be trusted as the lasting relation between that intellect and that thing." This may help to explain the queer judgments given by even wise men on their contemporaries.

Having shown that Criticism is lawful, is difficult, and perilous, it would be easy to show how grave and lofty it may be. The Greeks—our teachers in all things—cultivated Criticism with becoming gravity. I could fill a column with the titles of lost works; but the names of Plato, Aristotle, Aristarchus, and Longinus are enough. I note an interesting distinction between Plato and Aristotle in their treatment of Art; the one proceeding deductively from some *a priori* principles, the other proceeding scientifically, deducing principles from the actual facts before him. Plato says "fine things" about Art; Aristotle aims at detecting the laws. Of Aristarchus we have only the tradition of a great name; Longinus—or another, for the authorship is not clearly made out—has left us a beautiful and interesting treatise on grandeur of style—falsely translated *On the Sublime*—and the Hellenistic Dionysius some trumpery criticisms, which are sheltered from contempt by the august dignity of Greek. Latin Literature has also its Critics: its Cicero, its Tacitus, its Quintillian—to be read with pleasure, ay and with profit. But I should like to send Quintillian to a "first representation," with the necessity of his proceeding straight from the theatre to the printing-office, and there sitting in judgment on the new work, his article to be read by thousands before he is awake on the morrow!

OPERAS AND THEATRES.

When a horse has for some weeks been "out to grass," you can imagine the dumb inarticulate disgust with which he once more bows his neck to the collar, once more "gees up" to the inspiring voice of his master; yet in a few minutes his blood warms, and he is as gay and active under the yoke as ever! Something of that feeling was mine when I found myself again in the warm atmosphere of Euterpe. I went grumbling; in a few minutes old habits reasserted their empire; and I actually

caught myself shouting "brava" with remarkable purity of accent.

Nevertheless, a few lines must serve to chronicle the musical events. Nothing short of a column would suffice for *L'Elisir d'Amore* if Viardot's delightful comedy, and Ronconi's irresistible drollery were to be characterised; and poor Signor Cialfei was too completely extinguished (or as the Italians say, "he made a bottle") to need columnar pillory. Then the *Linda di Chamouni* as performed at her Majesty's drove me away after the first act, so that I cannot be discursive upon it. In passing I would say, however, that Marie Cruvelli earned the distinction of being the worst Pierotto ever heard in England, and that her sister Sophie showed more ambition than self-knowledge in attempting Linda, through which she screamed and scowled as usual, and drove me, as I said, from the theatre. If that be her conception of the lively village maiden, I can compliment her on its perfect originality. From Linda I turned into Covent Garden, and saw a part of *Semiramide*. That was singing. Giulia Grisi does not slur her notes; she does not find it necessary to scream her effects; would it be possible for Cruvelli to learn a little moderation from *la Diva*? With so fine a voice, so young, so ambitious, so energetic, it is grievous to see her losing ground every day by inattention to the fact that *Singing* is the primary condition of lyrical success. Alboni is an incomparable study for her in this respect. On Thursday that exquisite singer played Ninetta in *La Gazza Ladra*; but I reserve criticism till next week, when a comparison with Covent Garden can be made.

Rachel has closed the longest engagement she ever had in England; and the public ought not to forget that Mr. Mitchell fulfilled all the liberal promises of his programme, and produced the pieces he had named. In the present day, this fidelity to promises is really a trait to be noted, so shamelessly do other managers violate their word. Having said so much, and having been greatly indebted to Mr. Mitchell for the intense dramatic pleasure afforded me, I must still say that, in contradiction to the *Times*, I see very decided falling off in Rachel's personations of classical tragedy—her readings are often new, but frequently not intelligent, and always inferior to what she formerly gave. Her elocution is singularly deteriorated, not unfrequently sinking into a rapid gabble, as unintelligent as it is unintelligible; and the cadenced rhythm of those verses which require such art to deliver, and which she can deliver so exquisitely, became often destroyed by her hurry to reach a "point." I note these drawbacks, but I am not the less susceptible to the charm and fascination of her acting. She is what she must always be, an incomparable actress, an actress of genius. Her grace is ideal; her grandeur imperial; her scorn withering; her vehemence irresistible. Were her defects hundredfold greater, I should still rush to see her as a rare and accomplished Artist!

Drury Lane has opened its doors once more. American and French Horsemanship display attractions "on the boards which Garrick, Kemble, Kean have trod"—but, after having been trodden by Mr. Anderson and his company, I really do not see how Legitimacy can feel insulted. The philosophic barber in Dickens, refused to shave a dustman, "We must draw the line somewhere," says he, "and we draw it at bakers." Is the Drama equally nice and discriminating? The public were supremely indifferent to the attractions of the legitimate troupe, and they rush to see the horses.

Mrs. Warner is playing a farewell engagement at *Sadler's Wells*, before going to America. She is a great favourite, and, in certain characters, may be said to be the only accepted actress on our stage.

VIVIAN.

ENGLAND AND THE POPE (GREGORY).—The Pope, instead of attending to the welfare of the unfortunate people whom he governs, and saving his country from the reproach of being the worst governed state in Europe, is putting up prayers to Heaven for the conversion of England! He might as well come to London, and try to convert Mr. Cobden to the corn-laws, or the railway companies to the old roads. About eighty years ago, a Scotsman went to Rome for the purpose of converting the Pope. The Scotsman was not content with praying. He boldly entered St. Peter's at high mass, and addressed his holiness, in a loud voice, by the title of a certain lady who lives not a hundred miles from Babylon. The Pope, who at that time, luckily for the Scotsman, happened to be a sensible man (Ganganelli), was advised to send him to the galleys; but he answered, that the galleys were but a sorry place to teach people "good breeding;" so he put the honest fanatic into a ship, and sent him home again to Scotland.—*Leigh Hunt's Table Talk.*

European Democracy.

This page is accorded to an authentic Exposition of the Opinions and Acts of the Democracy of Europe: as such we do not impose any restraint on the utterance of opinion, and, therefore, limit our own responsibility to the authenticity of the statement.

THE CENTRAL DEMOCRATIC EUROPEAN COMMITTEE TO THE POLES.

POLES.—You have nobly suffered; you have bravely fought; each man among you is a living incarnation of his country. Thinking of Poland, all Europe repeats the words addressed by a Pope to your ancestors—"Every handful of your earth is a relic of martyrs." You are then worthy to hear the truth. We love you, and we feel ourselves worthy to speak it to you.

You are called to conclude the European struggle, which your brothers of the south and of the centre will begin. The last battle between absolutism and liberty may perhaps be fought upon your plains; your war-cry then must be the formula of life for the Slavonian people. You have great duties to accomplish; your People has always had the presentiment of them, and for that reason, come what may, you are and always will be a nation. And yet you did not in 1848, respond, with the energy of which you are capable, to the appeal of the Peoples. Wherefore? Because since 1846 you have been wanting in unitary organization. Thought has progressed with you; action has lost its continuity and strength. It might be said that you, the descendants of ancestors who listened to the Gospel sword in hand, have voluntarily ceased to bear witness to your national faith; and that you await the resurrection of your country and liberty from the slow course of things, or the convulsions of the West.

Undeceive yourselves; country and liberty will be restored to you, only as you are ready to sacrifice yourselves for them; for, if the general laws of humanity point out to us the end, it is our duty as apostles, combatants, martyrs if need be, to attain it. Doubtless your brothers of the other European countries can do much for you; they will not forget that your breasts were their bulwark against Mahometanism. But, above all, it is necessary that the conscience of the Polish People should be ready to affirm aloud and unceasingly, the right that Poland has to exist, and right, remember, is only made manifest by the accomplishment of a duty; life is not thought, it is thought reduced to action. Awake, then, and act!

There were those who exclaimed to you in 1848, pointing to Berlin and Vienna in revolt—"All is done, liberty will come to you from on high, without effort, without battles." But have you not too surely learned, that against despots liberty can only triumph by force; that nationality cannot be recovered by concession, but must reconquer its existence for itself? Yes, we know it; Vienna and Berlin will rise again; but it is not by sending them deputations from your national committees, it is not by demanding from them reforms that you will recover your country; you can do it by ransoming it with your lives, in responding to the movements of Vienna and Berlin by a sudden outburst; in throwing yourselves between the nations and the Kings as the reserve of the European democratic army; in drawing the sword for the new Gospel of humanity, "for our liberty and for yours." These noble words, addressed by you to the Russians in 1830, must be repeated in the thick of the combat to all the Peoples of the crusade.

To all,—Slavonians, Latins, Germans, for the question is no longer one of a particular interest, but of a principle,—we would almost say of a dogma, of the dogma of human solidarity, your nationality will only revive with all the rest of the oppressed nationalities. The old map of Europe yet bears the ink-stain of Catherine: this map must be remade. An alliance of Kings has consigned Poland to the grave: an alliance of Peoples alone can break open its tomb.

The spirit of weariness and inertia—the spirit of individualism and mistrust,—these are the two vices which you must labour to destroy. Created by your aristocracy, they have been the cause of

your past misfortunes. The Polish People, to constitute its future life, must eradicate their very roots. Let all traditional hostility disappear from amongst us; let a grand moral fusion be worked out in a holy common idea; let the young nationality of the Peoples efface the old dynastic and aristocratic nationalism. Races are now for us only the functionaries of humanity. The hatred which was engendered in the corrupted air of palaces, is unknown in the poor man's cottage, in the republican assembly composed of those who have been cradled in the same national songs. The air which circulates amongst the ranks of the People bears with it not hatred but love.

Germans, Slavonians, Latins, we have all but one single aim—liberty, association, justice. There are now but two camps in Europe. Whosoever should attempt to raise a solitary tent between these two camps, would meet with vengeance on the one side, and neglect and indifference on the other.

Poles, brothers! Aristocracy, the country of caste, has perished for you. It perished at Targowica. It was of that country Kosciuszko spoke, if it be true that falling he exclaimed, "Finis Poloniae." Arise to new life in equality, in the country of all, in the NATION; and each European race and People will extend to you with enthusiasm a brother's hand.

You have brought a grand idea into the world—the federation of the Slavonian Peoples. The reign of Boleslas the Great witnessed its birth; your Aristocracy was unable to comprehend it.

By its culpable inaction, it allowed the power of initiative, which this idea should have given you, to perish; like every Aristocracy, it centred its life within itself, and never departed from it, save in the interest of its own egotism. Everywhere, abroad as at home, even in the Russian lands,* the first halting-place of those barbarians who went, unconsciously, to receive the consecration of Rome—caste-nationality—by oppressing, tyrannizing, and stifling the popular inspiration—abdicated the grand mission of Poland. That grand mission must now be renewed, through popular inspiration. The Peasant himself must realize that which the "King of the Peasants" foresaw.

We have said a federation of Slavonian Peoples, not Panslavism. Panslavism is a pantheistic unity; it is not the word of liberty. A monstrous conception—the issue of military despotism—which all Europe would repulse: has it not been given the lie, in 1825, even on the banks of the Neva? Panslavism is the Czar. It is not with him, but with the martyrs of Russian liberty—Pestal, Murawieff, Bestuzew, and their companions, that the Polish People can, and should be, reunited.

What is now wanting to Poland? An initiative. The day on which, with the full comprehension of her mission, she shall assume her position as an initiative people—that day she will be saved.

Poles! wherefore should it not be thus? Why should not the watchword of the Slavonian world be given by you? Why should not Warsaw be the Rome of the North—the centre and focus of the northern races, as Rome has been of those of central and southern Europe? While France and Italy organize an alliance in the bosom of the Græco-Latin races—while an inward thrill announces the unification of the Germanic world, why should not Poland be united with the Hungarians—her friends of old—in the name of the services she has already rendered to Europe? and in the name of her long martyrdom, raise the fiery cross of the last battle, and shout the last watchword which shall resound along every despotie frontier, even to the eastern shores of the Adriatic?

For this all that is wanting is to will. To will strongly and unceasingly—to will in every limb and at every hour of the day—to will in love, sacrifice, and constancy. Will then, and onwards. Europe begins to believe you exhausted by the struggle of 1830. Repeat to Europe the words of Reytau:—"There is no despot strong enough to shake me, nor artful enough to corrupt me."

For the Central European Democratic Committee,
LEDRU ROLLIN. A. RUE.
J. MAZZINI. D. BRATIANO.
A. DARASZ.

London, July, 1851.

* That part of Russia lying between the Dnieper and the Danister.

Organizations of the People, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.

SOCIAL AND DEMOCRATIC WRITING.

The suggestions here offered have no relation to the usual correspondents or writers to the newspapers, whose proficiency and power are established; but are addressed to that increasing class of the people who are beginning to express their strong opinions and personal wrongs through the medium of the press. When a man exchanges the hammer for a pen, and the anvil for a desk, it is not to be wondered at if he betrays some unskillfulness. He will forge out his iron better than he will his thoughts, and, as a consequence, what he produces may not be deemed workmanlike in a literary sense, and so be refused. This the writer will put down to the caprice or politics of the editor, who declines his wellintended communications. He will never suspect his own want of skill. The purpose of this letter is to explain the matter a little.

Every attempt at expressing opinion, however ill it may succeed, is a part of the process of self-education, and often the only mode available to the poor. Whatever shall render this more practicable and common among the people does good, and to this end a few rules are submitted, for the guidance of the uninitiated who attempt writing for the press. In these days of the growth of Organizations, reports of their proceedings and expressions of their opinions are valuable. The pen and the tongue are the new weapons of the popular warfare, and the multitude must be trained in their use. Fortunately there is no direct law against "drilling" the populace to the use of these "arms."

Nearly all persons who have penned a letter or an article, afterwards desire to see it in print. Literature is a Republic where all eminence is honourable; for though some may obtain admission by force of wealth, none can maintain station except by force of genius. But by reason of the necessary conditions of admission being overlooked, many sustain disappointment which to them is inexplicable. Such persons may possibly profit by the following directions. Writers too eager to wait on method, or whose genius disdains the observance of rules, can, of course, accomplish success in their own way; but to the less fortunate a practical word may be useful, and to those only do I speak:—

1. Use note-size paper, because a large sheet covers the printer's case, and hinders his work.
2. Do not write on the back of the paper, as that doubles the time of printing the article—while one side is being "set up," what is written on the back cannot be "gone on with."
3. Write with dark black ink; for an editor will read with reluctance what he sees with difficulty; and the compositor, for the same reason, will dislike to set it up.
4. Always write a plain bold hand. Some hands which are elegant are too elegant to be understood. If you send an indistinguishable scrawl, it will be thrown aside until the editor has leisure to make it out, which may not be until the "interest of the article has passed away," and it may be too late to print it.

5. Remember that, whatever gives an editor trouble at his desk, doubles his expense in the printing-office. The Printers and Readers waste time in deciphering bad MS.; and out of any failure in interpretation, commonly grows a charge against the journal for "misrepresenting" the writer.

6. If you know that the editor will take any trouble to oblige you, why give him any trouble you please. If you are rich and can send the printers a guinea for making out your letter, you may scrawl like a gentleman; if you have a great name, so that the responsibility of anything you write will attach to yourself and not reflect on the paper, express yourself how you please; you may scribble with a pin on your butter paper, and the editor will try to make it out; but if the editor is under no obligation to you, if you have no guineas to spare, if you are not so popular that anything must be printed that bears your name, why cleave to good sense, good taste, correct expression, and a plain hand.

7. Never fear, as some do, that an editor will omit or abridge your communication without cause. If it have value he will be glad of it. If it be, as all relations of facts ought to be, briefly told, without declamation, digression, or imputation, it will be impossible to abridge it. A well-written letter, or narrative is incapable of being altered or abbreviated for the better. Hardly anything is ever refused, on whatever side written, if well done. The artistic taste of an editor for the literary perfection of his paper, is a ruling passion stronger than personal feeling, or political prejudice; and next the love of fair play, he is attracted by that which is well done.

These rules are given for the guidance of those who send occasional communications to the cotemporary press, and are not to be understood as intended for the correspondents of the *Leader*. I have no instructions whatever from the editor of this paper to refer to this subject. That gentleman will, no doubt, defy

both the laws of nature and of necessity in deciphering letters which need deciphering—he will persist, as a patriotic editor is expected to do, in seeing what cannot be seen, and in reading caligraphy which cannot be read, as often as he is favoured with such. But, should any one write to other papers, whose editors are under the usual limits of time and patience and optical laws, it may be as well to consult their infirmities.
LOX.

NATIONAL CHARTIST ASSOCIATION.—In consequence of the public meeting at the National Hall, on Wednesday evening, July 30, the adjourned meeting of the Executive Committee is postponed until Wednesday evening, August 6.—JOHN ARNOTT, Gen. Sec.

REDEMPTION SOCIETY.—Propagandism is still in the ascendant. A camp meeting was held last Sunday on Holbeck-moor, Leeds, which was addressed by Messrs. D. Green, T. Arandall, and R. Jones. At the conclusion of Mr. Arandall's address, Mr. Joah Mallinson, Wesleyan Association preacher, stated that he felt it his duty to attend the meeting, in order to warn the working-classes against the "Redemption bubble." He declined entering into any proof of the truth of his charges against the society at that meeting; but stated that he was prepared to meet any member of the society, at any time, and in any place, and there make good those charges. A bill was issued on Monday in which Dr. F. R. Lees accepts his challenge, and appoints the discussion to take place in the Music-hall, on Wednesday evening, July 30, the proceeds to go to the Leeds Infirmary. Mr. W. Campbell, of Leeds, delivered a lecture in support of the objects of the Society in the Market-place, Huddersfield, on Sunday afternoon. The meeting was well attended. He also lectured in the Christian Brethren's Room in the evening. Mr. Henderson is engaged to give two lectures in the Temperance-hall, Dukinfield, on Sunday, August 3, and one in the Temperance-hall, Hyde, on Monday, August 4, on the Principles and Present Position of the Society. Money received for the week:—Leeds, £1 9s. 3d.; Worcester, per M. Jones, 10s. 10d.; Halifax, per R. Buckle £3 18s. 5d.; Hyde, per J. Bradley, 10s. 4d.; Building Fund, Leeds, 17s.; R. Hollingsworth, 10s.; Nottingham, per W. Smith, 14s.; Drigglington, per Mr. Clayton, 6s.; Hyde, per J. Bradley, 5s. 6d.; Moses Hadfield 5s.; Horsforth, G. B., 1s. 6d.; Propagandist Fund, Leeds, 1s. 4d.; Halifax, 3s. 9d.—J. HENDERSON, Sec., 162, Briggate, Leeds.

THE SHAKERS OF NEW LEBANON.—We have been favoured with the perusal of a letter by David Frazer, of Columbia, to Alexander Campbell, of Aldermanbury, London. It is too long and discursive for insertion, but the writer bears testimony that, after eighteen years' experience, he finds abundant reason to be satisfied with the state of society he finds there, which is in every respect the reverse of the one he left in England.



Open Council.

[IN THIS DEPARTMENT, AS ALL OPINIONS, HOWEVER EXTREME, ARE ALLOWED AN EXPRESSION, THE EDITOR NECESSARILY HOLDS HIMSELF RESPONSIBLE FOR NONE.]

There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversy, his senses awakened, and his judgment sharpened. If, then, it be profitable for him to read, why should it not, at least, be tolerable for his adversary to write.—MILTON.

LAND AND POPULATION.

July 21, 1851.

SIR,—In a recent letter to you I stated as follows the law of return to capital and labour bestowed on land:—"The law of return to capital and labour employed upon land is, that, in any given state of agricultural knowledge and skill, an increase in the capital and labour employed is not attended with a proportionate increase in the produce: by doubling the labour you do not double the produce; or, if you double the produce, you must do more than double the labour."

The proof which I gave of the truth of this law—namely, the fact, that as population increases worse land is obliged to be brought under cultivation; and the plain inference from that fact, that the margin has been reached, where, under existing agricultural skill, the better sorts of land can be made to yield, by additional labour, a proportionate additional produce;—this proof, I say, Mr. Pare "respectfully submits is no proof at all;" "for," says he, "it is evident that E. R., like a true political economist of the competitive school, assumes that the present form of society is the true one." To this I reply by say-

ing that I made no such assumption. I state what I believe to be a physical law, and I give what appears to me to be a proof of its truth. The law, if true at all, must be true under all circumstances, unless, as Mr. Pare seems to assume, the laws of the physical world depend on the construction of society.

Then Mr. Pare, speaking of me, says, "How knows he the wonderful, almost miraculous changes in the cultivation of the land, as in other matters, that would be produced by a distribution of the people over its surface, in colonies or communities of from 2000 to 3000 each, as proposed by Owen?" I answer, that I do not know and I cannot imagine what would be the effect of such a "distribution of the people." Does Mr. Pare know, or even think he knows?

Neither am I aware of the oftquoted experiments of Mr. Falla and others, as to the relative quantities of wheat as produced by ploughings and diggings, that whilst by the plough, at a cost for labour of 32s., 38 bushels were produced to the acre; by the spade, at a cost for labour of 37s., 68s. bushels were produced; or, in other words, whilst the labour was increased only 16 per cent., the produce was increased 80 per cent. I repeat, I have never heard of these experiments, nor do I believe in the correctness of the inference Mr. Pare and his friends would draw from them, granting that the experiments themselves took place, and that their results have been correctly stated. I can readily understand, that under certain peculiar circumstances, spade labour would be more profitable than the plough; meaning by profit the return yielded to labour. But that it would be so generally I must still think disproved by the fact, that the spade has not displaced the plough. Capitalists are allowed to be, even by those who most rail against them, wise in their generation; and at a time when, for an additional two or three per cent., they are willing to transfer their wealth from one hemisphere to the other, I think I am justified in believing, that if by so simple an outlay as an additional 16 per cent. an additional 80 per cent. could have been realized, they would not have been slow in taking advantage of the fact.

But even supposing that Mr. Falla's experiments were conducted scientifically, that the result has been correctly given, and that Mr. Pare's inference is legitimate, what possible bearing have these things upon the point where we join issue? What bearing have they upon the law of return to labour employed upon land? They would prove, if true, that a fresh step had been taken, or was about to be taken, in the progress of agricultural skill; but does that conflict with the law, as I stated it? Did I not, in the same letter Mr. Pare has quoted from, say, that there was a law in constant antagonism to the law of capital and labour employed on land,—the law, namely, of progress in agricultural knowledge; and that the condition of the mass of the people, at any given time, depends upon whether population is proceeding more rapidly than agricultural skill, or agricultural skill more rapidly than population? An increase in population, not accompanied by an advance in agricultural skill, must necessarily deteriorate the condition of any people, except they have a fresh supply of land, of at least equal fertility to that already in cultivation. Mr. Pare seems to think he disproves the truth of this by saying, "I assure you your political economy quite fails you; you are lamentably wrong, for there is great room for agricultural improvement." It may be useless, I believe it is, to "preach this doctrine," viz., the duty of being able to provide for a family before you have one, to the Irish peasantry; but if the doctrine is true, till the Irish peasantry act consciously or unconsciously in conformity to its teaching, their case is hopeless.

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant, E. R.

HUNGARIAN REFUGEES.

July 29, 1851.

Sir,—Will you please acknowledge the inclosed 10s. 6d. for the Hungarian Refugees, as the small but cheerful contributions of some of the men employed in Messrs. Burroughes and Watts's billiard-table manufactory. Yours respectfully,

A SON OF TOIL.

HARMONY PETITION.

Rational Society Office,

23, John-street, Fitzroy-square, July 29, 1851.

Sir,—I beg to say in answer to your remarks on the Harmony Petition, that the central board have no wish to implicate or reflect upon any parties; but to give a plain and unvarnished statement of facts. A deputation from the board told Mr. Ashurst in 1846 that they had no wish to obstruct or oppose the proceedings of the lessees and trustees, and should wait patiently to see what would be done.

The idea of petitioning Parliament was suggested by counsel, who is a creditor, and had made inquiries relative to the property. The draft was submitted to him, and settled by him. The central board went carefully through it, clause by clause, and were at length unanimous upon it; they were of opinion that no public good can be done until the affair is

settled, and have, therefore, adopted this plan, which they are determined to follow up; and they hope the inquiry will be conducted in a "happy and genial spirit," and that the result will be satisfactory.

I remain, Sir, yours obediently,

T. WHITAKER, Hon. Fin. Sec.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

(From the Registrar-General's Report.)

The deaths in the metropolitan districts, which in either of the two previous weeks hardly exceeded 870, again show an increase, for in the week ending last Saturday they rose to 956. In the same week of 1849 cholera was rapidly spreading, and swelled the amount to 1931; but setting aside that year, and taking the corresponding weeks of other years in the series 1841-50, it appears that the lowest number was 749 in 1843, and the highest 1201 in 1848, and within the weeks subject to comparison the amount did not in general exceed 900.

THE MARRIAGES, BIRTHS, AND DEATHS IN ENGLAND.

On Tuesday the quarterly report of the Registrar-General was issued. This return comprises the births and deaths registered by 2189 registrars in all the districts of England during the spring quarter ending June 30, 1851; and the marriages in more than 12,000 churches or chapels, 2869 registered places of worship unconnected with the Established Church, and 623 Superintendent-Registrars' offices, in the quarter that ended March 31, 1851.

The return of marriages is not complete; but the defects are inconsiderable, and approximate numbers have been supplied from the records of previous years.

The returns still show a great increase of marriages and births. The mortality is near the average.

MARRIAGES.—The winter quarter, including the months of January, February, and March, has always fewer marriages in its records than any other quarter of the year. The marriages in the winter quarter of 1851 were, however, 32,619, which is the largest number ever registered in the winter season of any year; it exceeds by 8172 (one third) the marriages in the winter quarter of 1841; by 4190 the marriages in the winter quarter of 1849; and by 2194 the marriages in the winter quarter of 1850.

BIRTHS.—The number of births registered in the quarter ending June 30 amounted to 159,128; which is more than the births registered in any preceding quarter. It exceeds by nearly 30,000 the births registered in the corresponding quarter of 1841, when the number was 129,881. The births in the year 1851 already amount to 316,512. The increase is distributed over nearly all the divisions of England, but is greatest in London, in Yorkshire, and in the northern counties.

STATE OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH.—99,639 deaths were registered in the quarter ending June 30, 1851; the deaths in the corresponding quarter of 1850 were 93,005; and 102,143 in the corresponding quarter of 1849, when cholera was in the kingdom. The annual rate of mortality in the spring quarter (April, May, June) was very uniform in the years 1841-46, or 2.141 per cent. on an average, 2.174 when highest (1841), and 2.077 when lowest (1844); in the spring of 1847, after the potato failure, the mortality rose to 2.506, and remained 2.314, and 2.341 in the springs of 1848 and 1849; in 1850 it fell to 2.106. In the spring quarter of 1851 the mortality was at the rate of 2.228 per cent. per annum, which is lower than the mortality of the three bad seasons (1847-8-9), but higher considerably than the mortality in the corresponding quarter of the seven years 1841-6 and 1850. Measles, scarlatina, smallpox, and hooping-cough were epidemic in many districts, and the chief causes of the high mortality.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

SATURDAY.

Consols closed on Monday at 96½ to 100 for money and the account. The news of the Austrian Loan caused them to drop an eighth on Tuesday; and on Thursday they closed at the same price, 96½ to 100, for money and the account. The closing price yesterday was—Consols, 96½.

The fluctuations of the week have been—Consols, 96½ to 96½; Bank Stock, 215½ to 216½; Exchequer Bills, 46s. to 51s. premium.

The Foreign Stock Market has been inactive, Sardinian Scrip attracting most attention. Yesterday the Chilean Six per Cents., 104; Danish Five Per Cents., 104½; Dutch Two-and-a-Half per Cents., 89½; ditto, Four per Cent. Certificates, 93½; Mexican Bonds, 31½; ditto for account, 19th instant, 31½, 31½; Portuguese Five per Cent. Converted, 184½; Small Bonds, 34½; Russian Four-and-a-Half per Cents., 101½; Sardinian Five per Cents., 85; ditto scrip, par, 1 dis., par, 1 prem.; Spanish Active Five per Cents., 21½; ditto Three per Cents., 38½.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(Closing Prices.)

	Satur.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	216½	215½	215½	215½	215½	225½
3 per Cent. Red.	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½
3 p. C. Con. Ans.	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
3 p. C. An. 1726.	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
3 p. C. Con. Ag.	99	99	99	99	99	99
3 p. Cent. An.	99	99	99	99	99	99
New 5 per Cts.	99	99	99	99	99	99
Long Ans., 1860.	99	99	99	99	99	99
Ind. St. 10½ p. ct.	99	99	99	99	99	99
Ditto Bonds	62 p	58 p	57 p	59 p	56 p	49 p
Ex. Bills, 1000.	52 p	51 p	50 p	50 p	46 p	49 p
Ditto, 500.	52 p	51 p	50 p	50 p	46 p	49 p
Ditto, Small	52 p	51 p	50 p	50 p	49 p	48 p

FOREIGN FUNDS.

(Last Official Quotation during the Week ending Friday Evening.)

Austrian 5 per Cents.	—	Mexican 5 per Ct. Acc.	31½
Belgian Bds., 44 p. Ct.	93½	Small.	—
Brazilian 5 per Cents.	90½	Nepositan 5 per Cents.	—
Buenos Ayres 5 p. Cts.	—	Peruvian 4½ per Cents.	—
Chilian 6 per Cents.	101	Portuguese 4 per Cents.	34½
Danish 5 per Cents.	104½	—	—
Dutch 2½ per Cents.	59½	—	—
4 per Cents.	92½	Russian, 1822, 4½ p. Cts.	161
Ecuador Bonds	—	Span. Active, 5 p. Cts.	21
French 3 p. C. An. at Paris 93.90	—	—	—
3 p. Cts., July 11, 56.30	—	—	—

SHARES.

Last Official Quotation for Week ending Friday Evening.

RAILWAYS.		BANKS.	
Aberdeen	10½	Australasian	35½
Bristol and Exeter	—	British North American	43
Caledonian	11½	Colonial	—
Eastern Counties	6½	Commercial of London	—
Edinburgh and Glasgow	—	London and Westminster	29½
Great Northern	17½	London Joint Stock	—
Great S. & W. (Ireland)	—	National of Ireland	—
Great Western	81	National Provincial	—
Lancashire and Yorkshire	—	Provincial of Ireland	43½
Lancaster and Carlisle	51	Union of Australia	25½
London, Brighton, & S. Coast	94	Union of London	13½
London and Blackwall	62		
London and N.-Western	12½		
Midland	—		
North British	42½		
South-Eastern and Dover	—		
South-Western	—		
York, Newcastle, & Berwick	19		
York and North Midland	50		
DOCKS.		MINES.	
East and West India	—	Bolanos	—
London	—	Brazilian Imperial	—
St. Katharine	—	Pinto, St. John del Rey	—
		Cobre Copper	—
		MISCELLANEOUS.	
		Australian Agricultural	—
		Canada	—
		General Steam	—
		Penins. & Oriental Steam	—
		Royal Mail Steam	—
		South Australian	—

CORN EXCHANGE.

MARK-LANE, August 1.—English and Foreign Wheat as Monday; Foreign taken more freely. Floating cargoes in good request, at 1s. decline. Beans and Peas ready sale, at Monday's rates. Barley fully as dear, with large supplies of Russian Oats, and dealers determined not to purchase except on lower terms. They have declined again to the lowest point noted about a fortnight ago, and the bulk of the Archangels being yet to arrive, it seems probable we may have a further fall.

Arrivals from July 25 to August 1.

	English.	Irish.	Foreign.
Wheat	2440	—	13,490
Barley	—	—	8,810
Oats	50	—	53,380
Flour	1730	—	9,820

GRAIN, Mark-lane, Aug. 1.

Wheat, R. New	40s. to 41s.	Maple	30s. to 32s.
Fine	41	White	34
Old	43	Boile	35
White	43	Boile	35
Fine	44	Boile	35
Superior New	44	Indian Corn	28
Rye	21	Oats, Feed	17
Barley	22	Fine	18
Malt	23	Poland	20
Mal, Ord.	25	Fine	21
Fine	26	Potato	20
Peas, Hug.	28	Fine	21

FLOUR.

Town-made	per sack 37s. to 40s.
Seconds	36
Essex and Suffolk, on board ship	32
Norfolk and Stockton	29
Ave. item	29
Canadian	20
Wheaten Bread, 7d. the 4lb. loaf. Households, 5½d.	

GENERAL AVERAGE PRICE OF GRAIN.

WEEK ENDING July 26.

Imperial General Weekly Average.			
Wheat	42s. 5d.	Bye	27s. 0d.
Barley	25	Beans	3
Oats	22 0	Peas	28 7
Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks.			
Wheat	42s. 6d.	Bye	28s. 8d.
Barley	23 3	Beans	31 9
Oats	22 0	Peas	28 6

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Tuesday, July 29.

E. HERRING, Trinity-street, Southwark, manufacturing chemist, to surrender August 7 and September 11; solicitor, Mr. Wood, Falcon-street, Aldersgate; official assignee, Mr. Canaan, Birch-lane, Cornhill—J. LEMBER, Strand, stationer, August 8, September 11 and 12; solicitor, Mr. Smith, Basinghall-street; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street. — R. KEEFING, Byde, Southampton, watchmaker, August 7, September 11; solicitor, Mr. Whittington, Dean-street, Finsbury-square; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street. — E. GATES, Aylesford, Kent, grocer, August 6, September 6; solicitors, Messrs. Wilton and Blackman, Raymond-buildings, Gray's-inn-square; official assignee, Mr. Stansfield—W. LEVY, White's-row, Spitalfields, mason, manufacturer, August 4, September 6; solicitors, Messrs. Jackson, Sweeting, and Jenkinson, Lombard-street; official assignee, Mr. Sansford — A. HIXTON, Portman-square, stationer, August 6, September 6; solicitors, Messrs. Weir and Smith, Cooper's-hall, Basinghall-street; official assignee, Mr. Graham — E. DAVIS, Northampton, currier, August 6, September 6; solicitor, Mr. Heath, Artillery-place, west, Finsbury; official assignee, Mr. Graham — T. ISLAX and W. WAXSTOCK, Liverpool, brokers, August 7, September 5; solicitors, Messrs. Sharp, Field, and Jackson, London; and Messrs. Miller and Peel, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Bird, Liverpool—R. HEATH, W. WELCH, and J. H. BARBER, Tunstall, Staffordshire, ironmasters, August 16, September 2; solicitors, Messrs. St.-nier, Udall, and Knight, Newcastle-under-Lyne; and Messrs. Mortimer, Knight, and Benson, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Nally, Birmingham—T. J. KING, Stourport, innkeeper, August 12, September 9; solicitors, Mr. Watson, Stourport; and Mr. Hodgson, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore, Birmingham—D. PHILLIPS, Cardiff, linendraper, August 13, September 10; solicitor, Mr. Bevan, Bristol; official assignee, Mr. Acranman, Bristol—B. DAW, Lumborn mills, near Tavistock, miller, August 7, September 18; solicitor, Mr. Elworthy, Plymouth; official assignee, Mr. B.

man, Exeter—J. SEARLE, Brisham, Devonshire, builder, August 13, September 17; solicitor, Mr. Stogdon, Exeter; official assignee, Mr. Hirtzel, Exeter.

Friday, August 1.

BANKRUPT.—H. M. ARLEMAN & CO., Frith-street, Soho-square, printers, to surrender August 9, September 10; solicitors, Messrs. Nicholson and Parker, Lime-street; official assignee, Mr. Stansfield—J. BROWN, Deal, grocer, August 9, September 10; solicitor, Mr. Buchanan, Basinghall-street; official assignee, Mr. Graham—T. E. STANTON, King's Head-court, City, and Hatton-garden, bookbinder, August 8, September 12; solicitors, Messrs. Butler and Trotter, Ely-place, Holborn; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street—J. SHORT, Weedon Beck, Northamptonshire, wine merchant, August 12, September 11; solicitors, Messrs. Rickards and Walker, Lincoln's-inn-fields; and Messrs. Gerry and Son, Daventry; official assignee, Mr. Cannan, Birch-lane, Cornhill—E. MITCHELL, Waltham-stow, baker, August 8, September 12; solicitor, Mr. Pownall, Birch-lane; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street—J. H. MAY, Brecknock-terrace, Camden-town, draper, Aug. 12, Sep. 11; solicitors, Messrs. Sole, Turner, and Sole, Aldermanbury; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street—M. BEATT, Upwell, Norfolk, brickmaker, August 8, September 11; solicitor, Mr. Hensman, Basing-lane, Bow-lane, Cheapside; and Mr. Ollard, Upwell; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street—E. G. CUFF, Leicester, hotelkeeper, August 15, September 12; solicitors, Mr. Henderson, Mansell-street; and Mr. Spooner, Leicester; official assignee, Mr. Bittleson, Nottingham—J. MACDUFF, Llanelly, Brecknockshire, auctioneer, August 19, September 16; solicitor, Mr. Bevan, Bristol; official assignee, Mr. Hutton, Bristol.

Shortly to be published, price to Subscribers 3s., to Non-Subscribers 4s.

KOSSUTH, AND THE MAGYARS OF OLD.

Many works have been recently published upon the Hungarian war of self-defence, but none of them have thrown any light upon the sanguinary events of our ancient history, from 1537, under the Government of the House of Hapsburg, which serve to explain the present.

The illustrious patriots, Bethlen, Botkay, Tokilly, Francis, and George Rakoczy have waged many a war, and fought battles, in order to secure political and religious freedom.

No author has undertaken to set forth the relations of Hungary to the amalgamated provinces of Austria. Hence the impossibility of obtaining a clear insight into the sanctity of our outraged rights. The public know only the glory of our hard-fought battles, and sad downfall of our country's cause. The Magyar fought like the lioness, he fought for self-defence, and not for revolution; yet he was accused by the followers of the House of Hapsburg of high treason, and he met with the mercy which wild beasts shew their prey. The Magyar fought and bled, not for new and immature ideas, nor for exclusive privileges, but in a holy struggle against the House of Hapsburg seeking to trample under foot the rights of the nation, and to annihilate the constitution of a thousand years, derived from the ancient dynasty of Arpad. The Magyar protested against the imposition of an absolute government. He defied tyranny, and sacrificed for liberty and the common weal 80,000 of the noblest children of the soil.

The soul of my assassinated country summons me, — the innocent blood of many thousands of my brethren cries to me from the grass upon their graves, and calls upon me to enlighten the world, and all true friends of a free people, on the cause of their death. In the Appendix will be found a narrative of the adventures of Kossuth after his retreat into Turkey. This duty I have endeavoured to fulfil in my work.

The fate of my unhappy fatherland ought to be a warning and a lesson to all free people unremittently to defend their rights, and to struggle for every handful of their native soil against tyranny, and despotism, which merit to be hated by every upright man.

Every friend of right is solicited to promote this undertaking by obtaining Subscribers, and to send the List of Subscriptions, by the 1st of September, to Mr. T. H. BENTLEY, at the Office of the *Reader*, 10, Wellington-street, Strand, London.

STEAM TO INDIA, CHINA, &c.

Particulars of the regular Monthly Mail Steam Conveyance and of the additional lines of communication, now established by the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company with the East. The Company book passengers, and receive goods and parcels for Ceylon, India, Malacca, Singapore, and Hong Kong, by their steamers, starting from SOUTHAMPTON on the 20th of every month, and from SUEZ on or about the 10th of the month.

One of the Company's first-class steamers will, however, be despatched from Southampton for Alexandria, as an extra ship, on the 3rd of September and 3rd of November next, and of alternate months thereafter, in combination with extra steamers, to leave Calcutta on or about the 20th of August and 20th of October. Passengers may be booked, and goods and parcels forwarded by these extra steamers to or from SOUTHAMPTON, ALEXANDRIA, ADEN, CEYLON, MADRAS, CALCUTTA, and BOMBAY.

The Company will also despatch from Bombay, about the 1st of September next, and of every alternate month thereafter, a first-class steam-ship for Aden, to meet there the extra ship between Calcutta and Suez; and at Alexandria one of the Company's steam-ships will receive the passengers, parcels, and goods, and convey them to Southampton, calling at Malta and Gibraltar. But passengers, parcels, and goods for BOMBAY and WESTERN INDIA will be conveyed throughout from Southampton in the mail steamers, leaving Southampton with extra steamers, on the 20th of August, 20th of October, and of alternate months thereafter, and the corresponding vessels from Suez to Aden, at which latter port a steam-ship of the Company will be in waiting to embark and convey them to Bombay.

Passengers for Bombay can also proceed by this Company's steamers of the 20th of the month to Malta, thence to Alexandria by her Majesty's steamers, and from Suez by the honourable East India Company's steamers.

MEDITERRANEAN.—MALTA.—On the 20th and 29th of every month. Constantinople.—On the 29th of the month. Alexandria.—On the 20th of the month.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.—Vigo, Oporto, Lisbon, Cadiz, and Gibraltar, on the 7th, 17th, and 27th of the month. N.B. Steam-ships of the Company now ply direct between Calcutta, Penang, Singapore, and Hong Kong, and between Hong Kong and Shanghai.

For further information and tariffs of the Company's recently revised and reduced rates of passage-money and freight, and for plans of the vessels, and to secure passages, &c., apply at the Company's offices, 123, Leadenhall-street, London, and Oriental-place, Southampton.

PHRENOLOGY.—The prevailing want of information respecting the dependence of men's dispositions and talents, on the condition of the brain, is the source of many of the greatest errors and misfortunes that afflict society. Mr. DONOVAN, professional phrenologist, of great experience and extensive practice, may be CONSULTED daily, on the organization of adults and children, from 10 to 6 o'clock, at 8, King William-street, West Strand.

GUILD OF LITERATURE AND ART.

Hanover-square Rooms.—Positively the Last Performance in London by the Amateur Company of the Guild of Literature and Art.—In consequence of many persons having been disappointed of tickets for the last performance of Mr. Edward Bulwer-Lytton's new comedy, in five acts, entitled, NOT SO BAD AS WE SEEM; or, Many Sides to a Character; and the new farce by Mr. Charles Dickens and Mr. Mark Lemon, called, MR. NIGHTINGALE'S DIARY, the comedy and farce will be repeated on Monday, August 4. Tickets (all the seats being reserved), 10s. each; or family-tickets (to admit three), one guinea each; to be had of Mr. Mitchell, 35, Old Bond-street; Messrs. Ebers, 27, Old Bond-street; Mr. Hookham, 15, Old Bond-street; Mr. Andrews, 167, New Bond-street; Messrs. Chappell, 50, New Bond-street; Mr. Robert Olivier, 19, Old Bond-street; Messrs. Leader and Cock, 63, New Bond-street; Mr. Sams, 1, St. James's-street; Messrs. Cramer and Beale, 201, Regent-street; Messrs. Smith and Elder, 65, Cornhill; Messrs. Keith and Prowse, 48, Cheapside; and at the Office of the Guild, 10, Lancaster-place, Strand. Doors open at a quarter before seven; commence exactly at a quarter before eight.

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Capital £250,000, in 25,000 shares of £10 each.
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This Company is established for the purpose of affording a Metropolitan and National Necropolis, at such a distance from the Metropolis as public health and convenience require, upon a scale of magnitude commensurate with the annual mortality of a rapidly increasing population, and capable of meeting the exigencies of unwonted visitations of disease.

For the prospectus and forms of application for shares, apply to the Secretary, at the Offices of the Company, No. 16A, Great George-street, Westminster; to the Solicitors, Messrs. Coombe and Nickoll, 3, Bridge-street, Westminster; and Alexander Debiel, Esq., 2, Lancaster-place, Strand; or to Messrs. Hichens and Harrison, Stock and Share Brokers, 18, Threadneedle-street, City.

RICHARD CHURCHILL, Secretary.

AMUSEMENT AND INSTRUCTION.

The public are admitted, without charge, to the British Museum, National Gallery, East India Company's Museum, London Missionary Society's Museum, and to the Splendid Exhibition of Art and Industry, on view from 8 in the morning till 8 at night, at Benefick and Company's Emporium for Furnishing Ironmongery, 89 and 90, Cheapside, London. The splendid stock comprises every variety of Electro-plated Wares, Chandeliers, Lamps, Tea-urns, Tea-trays, Cutlery, Iron Bedsteads, Baths, Stoves, Fire-irons; in short, every requisite either for the Mansion or the Cottage.

At this establishment you cannot be deceived, because every article is marked in plain figures, and at such prices as can be offered only by a house whose gross sales are so enormous as to enable them to sell the best articles at 10 or 15 per cent. less than any other house in the kingdom. That we can furnish a mansion, is demonstrated by the immense patronage of the nobility and gentry; and to prove that we can also suit the necessary and judicious economy of those moving in a more humble sphere, we are enabled actually to furnish an eight-roomed house for £5, and the articles, too, of the best quality and workmanship. This may appear incredible; but as we are the largest buyers of iron goods, to say nothing of the fact of our own manufacture, in London, we can do it, and submit a list of the requisites—

1 Hall-lamp	.. .. .	0 10 6
1 Umbrella-stand	.. .. .	0 4 6
1 Bronzed Dining-room Fender and Standards	.. .. .	0 5 6
1 Set of Polished Steel Fire-irons	.. .. .	0 3 6
1 Brass Toast-stand	.. .. .	0 1 6
1 Fire-guard	.. .. .	0 1 6
1 Bronzed and Polished Steel Scroll Fender	.. .. .	0 8 6
1 Set Polished Steel Fire-irons, Bright Finish	.. .. .	0 5 6
1 Ornamented Japanned Scuttle and Scoop	.. .. .	0 4 6
1 Best Bed-room Fender and Polished Steel Fire-irons	.. .. .	0 7 0
2 Bed-room Fenders, and 2 Sets of Fire-irons	.. .. .	0 7 6
Set of Four Black-tin Dish Covers	.. .. .	0 11 6
1 Broad grater, 6d., Tin Candlestick, 9d.	.. .. .	0 1 3
1 Teakettle, 2s. 6d., 1 Iron Meat-chopper, 1s.	.. .. .	0 3 6
1 Frying-pan, 1s., 1 Meat-chopper, 1s. 6d.	.. .. .	0 2 6
1 Coffee-pot, 1s., 1 Colander, 1s.	.. .. .	0 2 0
1 Dust-pan, 6d., 1 Fish-kettle, 4s.	.. .. .	0 4 6
1 Fish-slice, 6d., 1 Flour-box, 8d.	.. .. .	0 1 2
1 Pepper-box	.. .. .	0 0 4
3 Tinned Iron Saucepans	.. .. .	0 5 0
1 Oval Boiling-pot, 5s., 1 Set of 3 Skewers, 4d.	.. .. .	0 4 0
1 Spoons, 9d., 1 Tea-pot and Tray, 3s.	.. .. .	0 3 9
Toasting-fork	.. .. .	0 0 6

NOTE.—Any one or more of the articles may be selected at the above prices. And all orders for £5 and upwards will be forwarded free of any cartage charges to the Agents, therefore, the above, BENTLEY & CO., 89 and 90, Cheapside, London; and if you are about to furnish, and want to buy economically and tastefully visit this establishment.

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COIFFEUR, 254, Regent-street, opposite Hanover-square, inventor of the TRANSPARENT HEAD-DRESSES and PERUKES, the Hair of which is singly attached to a thin, transparent fabric, rendering the skin of the head perfectly visible; and being attached to a foundation constructed on geometrical principles, renders them superior to all others hitherto invented.

Sole proprietor of the CELEBRATED PERUVIAN BALM, which is universally approved and admired. This BALM, containing neither ardent spirit, pungent essential oils, nor other injurious materials, cleans the Hair expeditiously, renders it beautifully bright, and imparts to it the delicate fragrance of Flowers. The Hair when washed with this Balm soon becomes pleasantly soft, and luxuriant in growth; and although by improperly employing injurious extracts to clean it, the Hair may have been rendered harsh, or turned grey, it will soon be restored to its Natural Colour and Brilliance by using the PERUVIAN BALM.

COCOA is a nut which, besides farinaceous substance, contains a bland oil. The oil in this nut has one advantage, which is, that it is less liable than any other oil to rancidity. Possessing these two nutritive substances, Cocoa is become a most valuable article of diet, more particularly if, by mechanical or other means, the farinaceous substance can be so perfectly incorporated with the oil, that the one will prevent the other from separating. Such a union is presented in the Cocoa prepared by JAMES EPPS; and thus, while the delightful flavour, in part dependent upon the oil, is retained, the whole preparation will agree with the most delicate stomach.

JAMES EPPS, Homoeopathic Chemist, 112, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury, and 87, Old Broad-street, City, London.

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THE MISSES SMITH receive into their Family a limited number of YOUNG LADIES to Board and Educate. For terms and prospectus apply to R. D. F. LEADENHALL OFFICE, 10, Wellington-street, Strand. TELESOPHES, 1, Florence-terrace, Park-road, Upper Holloway.

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C. DOBSON COLLET, late of the Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden, Teacher of Singing. For Terms of Musical Lectures, Private Lessons, or Class Teaching, in Town or Country, apply to C. D. C. 15, Essex-street, Strand.

THE BEST WELLINGTON BOOTS made

to order, 21s. per pair.
HENRY LATIMER, 29, Bishopgate-street Without, respectfully requests the attention of the Public to the above very important announcement.
His Wellington Boots made to order at 21s. cannot be surpassed either in shape, make, or quality.

THE GREAT EXHIBITION.—A valuable

newly invented, very small, powerful WAISTCOAT POCKET GLASS, the size of a walnut, to discern minute objects at a distance of from four to five miles, which is found to be invaluable at the Exhibition, and to Sportsmen, Gentlemen, and Gamekeepers. Price 30s.; sent free.—TELESOPHES. A new and most important invention in Telescopes, possessing such extraordinary powers, that some, 34 inches, with an extra eye piece, will show distinctly Jupiter's moons, Saturn's ring, and the double stars. They supersede every other kind, and are of all sizes, for the waistcoat pocket, shooting, military purposes, &c. Opera and Race-Course Glasses, with wonderful power; a minute object can be clearly seen from 10 to 11 miles distant. Invaluable, newly invented Preserving Spectacles; invisible and all kinds of acoustic instruments, for relief of extreme deafness.—Messrs. S. and B. SOLOMONS, Opticians and Aurists, 39, Albemarle-street, Piccadilly, opposite the York Hotel.

SCOTTISH AND IRISH LINEN WARE-

HOUSE, 261, Oxford-street, near North Audley-street; Manufactory Dumfries.

DAVID BIRRELL begs respectfully to draw the attention of the Nobility, Gentry, and Public generally, to his new make of DAMASK TABLE LINENS, specimens of which are now on view at the Great Exhibition, near the west end of the building, under the head of "Flax," Class XIV., No. 60, and in the North Gallery, Class VII.

The QUEEN'S PATTERN has been engraved in the *Art Journal* for the present month, and is thus alluded to in the editorial remarks:—"Among the fine diaper and damask linens, received from Dumfries, are some singularly rich and beautiful table-cloth, manufactured by Mr. Birrell, from designs furnished by Mr. Paton, an artist who has upwards of a quarter of a century aided the manufacturers of that famous and venerable town. We have engraved one of them on this page—bold and elaborate in design, and in all respects worthy of covering a regal table. In the corners of the border we discern the St. George, and in the centre of the same part the badges of the order of 'The Thistle' and 'St. Patrick.' In the centre of the cloth is a medallion bust of her gracious Majesty. The table-cloth is made from the finest Flemish flax."

The "CAGE PATTERN" in the style of Louis XIV., and the "WASHINGTON MEDALLION JUST," surrounded with national and other emblematic figures, are also on view. Napkins, in silk and linen, to match the above.

ROYAL EXHIBITION LINENS.

DAVID BIRRELL has ready for inspection a choice parcel of the celebrated 7-8 and 4-4 Crown Linens, all manufactured from English yarns, and warranted of sound bleach. These goods can be strongly recommended, and embrace every quality, up to the finest No. which can be produced.

Huckabacks, Sheetings, Table Covers, &c., May, 1851.

PAINS IN THE BACK, GRAVEL, LUMBAGO,

RHEUMATISM, GOUT, INDIGESTION, DEBILITY, STRICTURE, &c.—DR. DE ROOS'S COMPOUND RENAL PILLS, as their name Renal (or of the kidneys), indicates, have in many instances effected a cure when all other means had failed, and are now established by universal consent, as the most safe and efficacious remedy ever discovered for the above dangerous complaints, discharges of any kind, retention of urine, and diseases of the kidneys and urinary organs generally, whether resulting from imprudence or otherwise, which, if neglected, frequently end in fistula, stone in the bladder, and a lingering death. For gout, rheumatism, dropsy, removal of hair and teeth, depression of spirits, blushing, incapacity for society, study, or business, giddiness, drowsiness, sleep without refreshment, nervousness, and even insanity itself, when (as is often the case) arising from or combined with urinary diseases, they are unequalled. By their salutary action on acidity of the stomach they correct bile and indigestion, purify and promote the renal secretions, thereby preventing the formation of stone, and establishing for life the healthy functions of all these organs. ONE TRIAL will convince the most prejudiced of their surprising properties. May be obtained at 1s. 1d., 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d., 11s., and 33s. per box, through all Medicine Vendors in the United Kingdom, or should any difficulty occur, they will be sent free on receipt of the price in postage stamps by Dr. DE ROOS.

IMPORTANT FACTS.

T. Webster, Esq., Sealford, near Melton Mowbray, Jan. 6, 1850. "Having read your advertisements, I felt assured your Renal Pills would be of service to some of my neighbours. I have had twelve boxes, and they have derived great benefit from taking them. I shall continue to recommend them to all my friends."—Wm. Cobb, Ewelme, Oxon: "I have, though but a young man, been a great sufferer from pains and debility resulting from gravel. I have had recourse to several medical men of good standing, but nothing has done me so much good as your Pills. I have not been so free from gravel, nor has my health been so good for many years, and all this I owe to your invaluable Pills. Before I began to take them, my system was always out of order."

TO PREVENT FRAUD on the Public by imitations of this excellent Medicine, her Majesty's Honourable Commissioners of Stamps have directed the name of the Proprietor, in white letters on a red ground, to be engraved on the Government Stamp round each box, without which none is genuine, and to imitate which too closely is felony and transportation.

"THE MEDICAL ADVISER," on all the above diseases, by Dr. De Roos, 168 pages, with coloured descriptive engravings; to be had through all booksellers, price 2s. 6d., or, on receipt of forty postage stamps, will be sent direct from the Author.—N.B. Persons wishing to consult the doctor by letter must send a detail of the symptoms, &c., with the usual fee of £1, by post-office order, payable at the Holborn Office, for which the necessary medicines and advice will be sent to any part of the world.

Address, WALTER DE ROOS, M.D., 35, Ely-place, Holborn-hill, London, where he may be consulted from 11 till 1, and 4 till 8, Sunday excepted, unless by previous arrangement.

N.B.—Should difficulty occur in obtaining the above, enclose the price in postage-stamps to the Establishment.

NERVOUSNESS, and all its attendant miseries and distressing symptoms, positively CURED, without the least inconvenience or danger to the most delicate constitution, by a new and infallible remedy; guaranteed to effect a perfect cure in the most inveterate case; even in cases of complete prostration of nervous energy its success is certain. Dr. ALFRED BRADY, M.D., M.R.C.S., and Consulting Physician, having long used it in his private practice without a single failure, begs to offer it to the Public, from benevolence rather than gain; and will send it carriage free, with full directions, upon receipt of 7s. 6d. in postage stamps, addressed to him at 6, Beaufort-street, Strand, London.

DEAFNESS—SINGING in the EARS.—Extraordinary Cures are effected daily, in cases long since pronounced incurable by the Faculty. Even in cases of total deafness, which have existed a lifetime, a positive cure can be guaranteed without pain or operation, by a newly discovered and infallible mode of treatment, discovered and practised only by Dr. FRANCIS, Physician, Aurist, 40, Liverpool-street, King's Cross, London. Dr. F. has applied this new treatment in the presence of and on several of the most eminent medical men of the day, who have been utterly astonished at its magical effect. All manners of these distressing complaints should immediately consult Dr. Francis, as none need now despair, however bad their case. Hours of consultation daily from Eleven till Four, and Six till Nine. Country patients, stating their case by letter, will receive the means of cure per post, with such advice and directions as are guaranteed to render failure impossible.

DR. CULVERWELL ON NERVOUSNESS, DEBILITY, AND INDIGESTION; also on Urinary Derangements, Constipation, and Hemorrhoids. 1s. each; by post, 1s. 6d.

WHAT TO EAT, DRINK, AND AVOID.—“Abstinentia multi curantur morbi.” A popular exposition of the principal causes (cover and careless feeding, &c.) of the above harassing and distressing complaints, with an equally intelligible and popular exposition of how we should live to get rid of them; to which is added diet tables for every meal in the day, and full instructions for the regimen and observance of every hour out of the twenty-four: illustrated by numerous cases, &c.

Vols. 2 and 3, companions to the preceding, THE ENJOYMENT OF LIFE. HOW TO BE HAPPY. “Jucunde Vivere.”

ON URINARY DISORDERS, CONSTIPATION, and HEMORRHOIDS; their Obviation and Removal. Sherwood, 23, Paternoster-row; Mann, 39, Cornhill; and the Author, 10, Argyll-place, Regent-street: consultation hours, ten to twelve; evenings, seven till nine.

A NEW MEDICINE.
FRANKS'S SPECIFIC CAPSULE.—A form of Medicine at once safe, sure, speedy, and pleasant, especially applicable to urethral morbid secretions, and other ailments for which copaliba and cubebs are commonly administered. Each Capsule containing the Specific is made of the purest Gelatine, which, encased in tinfoil, may be conveniently carried in the pocket, and, being both elastic and pleasant to take, affords the greatest facility for repeating the doses without intermission—a desideratum to persons travelling, visiting, or engaged in business, as well as to those who object to fluid medicines, being unobjectionable to the most susceptible stomach. Prepared only by GEORGE FRANKS, Surgeon, at his Laboratory, 90, Blackfriars-road, London, where they may be had, and of all Medicine Vendors, in boxes, at 2s. 9d. and 4s. 6d. each, or sent free by post at 3s. and 5s. each. Of whom, also, may be had, in bottles, at 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d., and 11s. each. FRANKS'S SPECIFIC SOLUTION OF COPAIBA.

TESTIMONIALS.
From Joseph Henry Green, Esq., F.R.S., President of the Royal College of Surgeons, London; Senior Surgeon to St. Thomas's Hospital; and Professor of Surgery in King's College, London. “I have made trial of Mr. Franks's Solution of Copaliba, at St. Thomas's Hospital, in a variety of cases, and the results warrant my stating, that it is an efficacious remedy, and one which does not produce the usual unpleasant effects of Copaliba. (Signed) JOSEPH HENRY GREEN.”
“Lincoln's Inn Fields, April 15, 1835.”
From Bransby Cooper, Esq., F.R.S., one of the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons, London; Senior Surgeon to Guy's Hospital; and Lecturer on Anatomy, &c.
“Mr. Bransby Cooper presents his compliments to Mr. George Franks, and has great pleasure in bearing testimony to the efficacy of his Solution of Copaliba. Mr. Cooper has prescribed the Solution in ten or twelve cases with perfect success.”
“New-street, April 13, 1835.”
“These medicines are protected against counterfeits by the Government Stamp—on which is engraved ‘GEORGE FRANKS Blackfriars-road’—being attached to each.”

CURES FOR THE UNCURED!
HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT.—An extraordinary CURE OF SCROFULA or KING'S EVIL.
Extract of a Letter from Mr. J. H. ALLIDAY, 209, High-street, Cheltenham, dated the 22nd of January, 1850.

To Professor HOLLOWAY.
“SIR,—My eldest son, when about three years of age, was afflicted with a Glandular Swelling in the neck, which, after a short time, broke out into an Ulcer. An eminent medical man pronounced it as a very bad case of Scrofula, and prescribed for a considerable time without effect. The disease then for four years went on gradually increasing in virulence, when, besides the ulcer in the neck, another formed below the left knee, and a third under the eye, besides seven others on the left arm, with a tumour between the eyes, which was expected to break. During the whole of the time my suffering boy had received the constant advice of the most celebrated medical Gentlemen at Cheltenham, besides being for several months at the General Hospital, where one of the Surgeons said that he would amputate the left arm, but that the blood was so impure that, if that limb were taken off, it would be then even impossible to subdue the disease. In this desperate state I determined to give your Pills and Ointment a trial, and, after two months' perseverance in their use, the tumour gradually began to disappear, and the discharge from all the ulcers perceptibly decreased, and at the expiration of eight months they were perfectly healed, and the boy thoroughly restored to the blessings of health, to the astonishment of a large circle of acquaintances, who could testify to the truth of this miraculous case. Three years have now elapsed without any recurrence to the malady, and the boy is now as healthy as heart can wish. Under these circumstances I consider that I should be truly ungrateful were I not to make you acquainted with this wonderful cure, effected by your medicines, after every other means had failed.”
(Signed) “J. H. ALLIDAY.”

Sold by the Proprietor, 244, Strand (near Temple Bar), London, and by all respectable Vendors of Patent Medicines throughout the Civilized World, in Pots and Boxes, at 1s. 1d., 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d., 11s., 22s., and 35s. each. There is a very considerable saving in taking the larger sizes.
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In ushering before the world for its consideration and patronage any addition to a subject previously well known, it is generally expected and required that there should be at least an appearance of novelty, although the subject itself is incapable of receiving any material improvement. The projectors of this Society, however, from experience and correct calculation, having discovered new principles and features in life assurance so peculiarly adapted to the feelings, views, and wants of literary men, artists, musicians, and all persons connected with every branch of art and science, are convinced, when such advantages become known and appreciated, the Athenaeum must take the lead amongst those societies which are ever on the watch to achieve new and beneficial results for all who have confidence in their exertions.

Men of letters and the liberal arts are too generally regarded with envious rather than with commiseration on account of the unfortunate circumstances so often attending their worldly affairs, and which have unjustly given them a character for improvidence; yet few persons in the active pursuit of business can form a proper notion of the many causes which prevent the student, the scholar, and the secluded artist from being so fortunate as themselves, nor is it here considered fit to analyse such causes or set right such notions. The object of this Society, therefore, is to allow the man of letters and the artist to indulge in that dreamy existence so peculiarly his nature, and so essential to the development of his talent, and give protection and provision where so much required. For while thus urged improvidence is admitted to be no consequence of selfishness, it being well known that in no other class is disinterested nobleness of spirit so often and unequivocally exhibited, yet no means have hitherto been devised to arrest this censured quality. This Society therefore wishes to open an independent course for the consideration of men of letters, art, and science, especially as it is brought before them with associations of their own, and in no way assuming the offensive and humiliating position of charity.

Many a great work has been left unfinished, many a teeming brain has given way before those powerful foes to genius, anxiety, and fear of the future. How often has the man of talent paused and trembled while he has contemplated the destitution of his family and all that is dear to him if overtaken by death in the midst of his projects! And, while life assurance is suggested to obviate such affecting thoughts, then the apprehension that should adverse circumstances prevent punctuality in his annual payments, the sacrifice already incurred will have been in vain. This Society cheerfully and with confidence points to the provision it has made for such cases, where help will be given and every encouragement afforded to sustain the claims upon it unfeigned and uninjured.

To the young the principle of this Office will be peculiarly beneficial, the amount of premium being so trifling, while, in the course of time, the participation in the profits of this Society must return them such sums that all they may have advanced in their early years will not only have passed again into their

possession, but a property will have been established that will be of value during life, or a handsome bequest in case of death. It is, therefore, hoped, by the establishment of this Society to remove from men of letters and artists the reproach, that in many instances has attended them, to enforce a more ennobling appreciation of their worth, to prevent their becoming objects of charity, which humiliates as much as it relieves, and that, in the midst of their triumphs, and while in the possession of health, there shall not be seen in the dim perspective the almshouse or the prison.

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This Office will introduce a system for obviating an acknowledged difficulty in the way of propagating the advantages of life assurance. In fact, the principal objection to adopt its blessings, even by many who thoroughly appreciate its value, is the possibility of forfeiting their policy by being unable to meet the payments when they become due; and, on the part of the office, it has been an unwise, not to say an unjust, proceeding to compel a strict observance of this provision. It has been unwise, for the reason that by carrying out this measure to the letter, such enormous profits have arisen from it as to become unwieldy and useless, since the management of them engrosses such attention and trouble as to make the office careless of extending its business. It has also been unjust; for, instead of rewarding prudence and self-sacrifice by assisting, even for a while, such strenuous exertions for the accomplishment of a noble object, or by bestowing some equivalent for past privation, it passes by such virtue unrecognized and unrewarded, and thus perverts the very principle from which life assurance emanated. To remedy, as far as possible, this defect, there will be a fund instituted by the *Athenaeum* called the Provident Fund, to be managed and controlled by the members themselves, on the following original and beneficial plan:—
The first 500 persons who desire to participate in this benefit will leave a tenth portion of their policies for the purposes of this fund, which will be thus applied:—

1. To the keeping up of the policies of such members who shall have previously paid five annual premiums. The aid afforded by this fund for that purpose will not be considered for longer or period than five consecutive years, and to be returned to the Society at the convenience of the assured, with interest at the rate of 2½ per cent. per annum, or the sum advanced may be deducted with such interest from the policy when it shall become a claim.
 2. To grant small loans on the deposit of the policy to those members who may require temporary assistance.
 3. To such qualified members who really need it, the Directors will have the discretionary power of granting such an amount as will purchase in the Society an annuity not exceeding £100 during the lives of themselves and widows. And,
 4. To divide among the surviving members, at the end of 30 years, from the date of the list being closed, the whole of the remaining and unapplied portion of the fund.
- The rates of premium to secure these important advantages are lower than those in many first-class offices, where no such advantages exist—for example, to assure £1000 at the age of 30 in the Equitable, would cost £36 14s. 3d. per annum, while a premium of £26 5s. in this office would assure, in addition to £1000, the sum of £200 to the Provident Fund.

It is also determined to provide, as far as practicable, a similar fund for such of the original shareholders as may become distressed, by applying a portion of the entire profits of the Society for such purpose.
One important feature of this Society and which has not yet been adopted by any other assurance company in this country, although generally in operation on the Continent, is the plan of granting policies made payable to the holder, the difficulty, expense, delay, and annoyance so frequently attendant upon pecuniary transactions in the assignment of policies have long been felt as a grievance, and the Directors of this Society, having given this subject much consideration, and acting under the advice of competent legal authorities, are resolved to give the assured the option of receiving policies payable to the holder. The advantages of these policies must be obvious, as their simple construction will give greater facilities in all cases of death or permanent transfer to a third party. This has been so fully appreciated on the Continent, that policies in any other form are absolutely refused by the great bulk of insurers. The publicity, so frequently annoying and detrimental, in the assignment and re-assignment of policies in pecuniary transactions, as well as the delay and expense consequent on the old system, have been often complained of, that the Directors of this Society are desirous that the plan of making policies payable to the holder must eventually be generally adopted in this country.

Another important feature connected with this Society, is that of granting policies payable during the lifetime of the assured, in cases where long sickness or accident may prevent parties from following their avocation.
A moment's reflection is sufficient to show that the great bulk of the middle and professional classes of this country stand as much in need of provision against the casualty of permanent sickness as against that of death, while statistical inquiries have proved that nearly 5 per cent. of the adult population of this kingdom are constantly incapacitated from following their occupation, and a great portion at advanced periods of life become permanently invalid, therefore, to meet so important a desideratum, this Society will, on very moderate terms, grant policies payable during the time of long sickness, or when accident or any other casualty shall prevent the assured from obtaining his livelihood.

To conclude, the Directors wish it emphatically to be understood that there are no privileges or advantages in this Institution, and that the public do not fully and equally participate, as the appeal is to them; and no benefit can accrue to any class, however worthy or respected, without the co-operation and support of all.
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